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MEDEDEELINGEN EN VERHANDELINGEN N^o 5
VAN HET
VOORAZIATISCH-EGYPTISCH GEZELSCHAP „EX ORIENTE LUX”

GEVESTIGD TE LEIDEN

— OPGERICHT 22 MEI 1933

Mémoires de la Société Orientale „Ex Oriente Lux” fondée à Leyde, N^o 5

THE MASTABA OF HETEP-HER-AKHTI
STUDY ON AN EGYPTIAN TOMB CHAPEL

IN THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES LEIDEN

BY

HERTA THERESE MOHR

WITH 101 FIGURES IN THE TEXT AND 5 PLATES



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E. J. BRILL
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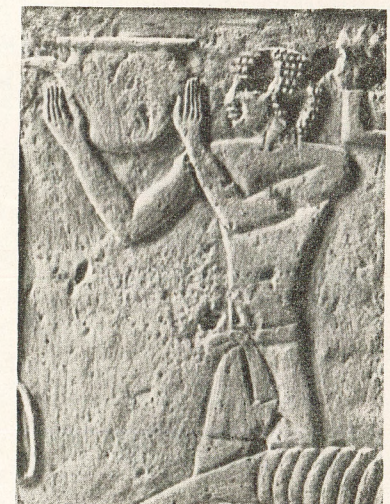


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Printed in the Netherlands

To my teacher F. Stärk and my Dutch friends



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PREFACE

This book is the result of studies made in Leiden in the years 1937—1940. It is meant to be as complete a study as circumstances allow of one of the finest monuments of the Old Egyptian civilization, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Netherlands.

Photographs of the Tomb Chapel were published in 1905¹ together with a text, containing a very summary description and a detailed discussion on the materials.

The tomb was erected in the necropolis of Saqqara near Cairo in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty by a high officer of the residence. Its reliefs and inscriptions are very typical examples of their period, the classical period of Egyptian art; the German Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft² takes these reliefs as the classical example of the Old Kingdom art. Still it must be said that more beautiful examples of this art have come down to us, such as in Saqqara the Maṣtabas of Tī, PTAHHOTEP, and others; but most of them are still in their original places and some of them even inaccessible to visitors. Besides this, there is still another circumstance which induced me to edit a study of the whole Maṣtaba by itself: the choice of the scenes gives an extremely concise selection of the typical scenes of the time; the tomb is the best example known to me as an introduction to this group of monuments, not only as to its artistic features, but also owing to its inscriptions, notwithstanding a few puzzling peculiarities. It contains nearly everything that one expects to find in a tomb of the residence of the Fifth Dynasty; all these features are united in a simple and harmonious way.

In the various parts the method of this book differs according to their subjects. As a detailed discussion on materials and chemical questions was published in the year 1905 by BOESER³ no further reference to these subjects is made here. The introductory chapter on history of art had to be prepared and written according to the method peculiar to such studies. No use therefore could be made of any philological methods; the works of art were entirely treated as such.

Having thus settled the principles of this art, a short chapter follows on the architectural features and the division of scenes in the Leiden Tomb Chapel.

The third chapter is a short introduction for the use of the visitor to the Chapel in the

¹ *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De Monumenten van het Oude Rijk door A. E. J. HOLWERDA, P. A. A. BOESER en J. H. HOLWERDA (vol. 1), Leiden, 1905; Atlas, pl. v-xxi; Tekst, pp. 11-18. Quoted as BOESER, *Beschrijving*.*

² CURTIUS, *Die antike Kunst*, vol. 1, Berlin, (written 1913 edited 1923), pp. 96-192.

³ see BOESER, *Beschrijving*, pp. 13-15.

Museum, followed by a very summary description of its decorations. It is meant to be a guide to the detailed description in the fourth chapter.

The fourth chapter contains the detailed study of the scenes based on the comparative philological method: each scene is studied separately, and if necessary to understand its contents, compared to other scenes of the tomb or other Egyptian reliefs in order to determine the meaning of the scene as definitely as possible. A sketch of each scene is added to the description. For this part of the work the admirable book *Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* by Professor MONTET was most valuable. Of very common and well-known scenes I sometimes did not quote parallels, but only the pages in MONTET's *Scènes*. If necessary, the comparative method was used not only for the explanation of the inscriptions, but also for the form of representation. Scenes with the same contents are mostly rendered by the same form; in some cases I had to follow the form of a scene from the residence to the province, in order to understand its contents. But sometimes I also followed a form in its course, when it was only used because of its outward appearance for widely differing actions. The history of Egyptian forms has not yet been written.

Most of the genuine translations of the inscriptions in this tomb are quoted in their proper places, as well as any other particular study of them known to me.

The photographs we had planned to give here could not be taken because of the special circumstances of these times. After having waited a considerable time we decided to edit this study without them and we only used some of the photographs I had taken with a small camera and enlarged in the spring of 1939, to give such detailed evidence as we possessed in order to control my drawings. We hope to edit a small additional volume of photographs of this Tomb Chapel with the collaboration of Mr. M. COPPENS, Eindhoven.

I was forced to make the drawings of the scenes mostly by means of the old printed photographs of the *Beschrijving*. They were all corrected by means of the photographs I took in the year 1939 and my drawings and notes made in the Tomb Chapel in the years 1937—1939. During the last period of my work, from September 1939 onwards, the Chapel was inaccessible.

No references to colours are given in this study. This is partly due to the fact, that no extraordinary features as to colours occur in this tomb, so that I had made no notes on this subject during the time when the tomb was still accessible. For a chemical analysis of the colours in this tomb, see the discussion of Professor VAN BEMMELEN of Leiden University in the description edited by BOESER and quoted above ⁴.

Thanks are due to the director of the Museum van Oudheden in Leiden, Dr W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, for having granted me the permission to work in the Tomb Chapel and in the library of the Museum as well as for the permission to publish these studies, and for having helped very often with kind hints through various difficulties in its library. Also I

⁴ For literature on the subject of colours see C. R. WILLIAMS, *The Decoration of the Tomb Per-nēb*, New York, 1932, p. 25. For a study on colours in Egyptian Art, especially in the Eighteenth Dynasty, see M. WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber*, Mitt. d.d. Inst. Kairo, vol. IV (1933), 46-53. — For a chemical analysis of the colours in the Leiden Tomb Chapel see BOESER, *Beschrijving; Tekst*, p. 14, note 1.

wish to thank the staff of the University Library, Leiden, and the Allard Pierson Stichting Amsterdam, for their patient help. My special acknowledgements are due to Professor A. DE BUCK, Leiden, for having discussed several philological problems arising in the course of this work and for the troublesome verification of the inscriptions by means of the photographs during my absence from Leiden in 1941. I am deeply indebted to Professor H. P. BLOK, Utrecht, not only for philological hints, but also for having introduced me to the labyrinth of the Egyptological literature. Professor H. FRANKFORT in 1938 kindly read the part on art of this study and I wish to thank him once more for his valuable remarks. To the friendliness of Dr W. FEDERN, New York, I owe many encouraging hints. A most valuable help to me was the kind friendliness of Professor J. CAPART, Brussels, who allowed me to work a considerable time in the library of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, where also Miss M. WERBROUCK and Mme E. BILLE—DE MOT did everything to facilitate my work, so that it is difficult to thank the Fondation in the right way for all their encouragement.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my Dutch friends, the late Mr. W. A. VAN LEER, Amsterdam and Mme B. VAN LEER—DE JONGH; Mr. J. JANSSEN, Leiden; and the editor, Mr. B. A. VAN PROOSDIJ, whose idea it was to edit these "studies" in the form of a book. Without their various encouragement, as well as the help of others not mentioned here, it would have been impossible to get the necessary preparatory work done under difficult circumstances.

Eindhoven, Summer 1942

HERTA TH. MOHR

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 Fig. bb: Ground-plan of the tomb. From BOESER, *Beschrijving I, Tekst*, Fig. 1, p. 12.
 Fig. cc: Ground-plan of the Tomb-Chapel. *Ibid.*, fig. 2.
 Fig. dd: a.c. from MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 382 (tomb of Sabu).
 Fig. ee: a.c. from CAYLUS, *Recueil des Antiquités*, Paris, 1759, VII, pl. I, no. 1.
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 Fig. kk: a.d. from WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 17, (tomb of Ptahhotep). Compare DAVIES, *Ptahhotep* I, pl. XXVII (drawing).
 Fig. 2 bis: 8th picture Guimet = Ann., pl. L; 4th register, right half.
 Fig. 12bis: 12th picture Guimet = Ann., pl. XLVI, 4th register, left half.
 Fig. 18bis: *ibid.*, 3rd register, left boat.
 Fig. 20bis: 3rd picture Guimet = Ann., pl. XLVIII, 5th register, right half.
 Fig. 11: *ibid.*, 4th register, right half.
 Fig. 29bis: *ibid.*, 4th register, left half.
 Fig. 30bis: 11th picture Guimet = Ann., pl. XLVII, 5th register, right half.
 Fig. mm: Beni Hasan, tomb of KHNUMHOTEP, Middle Kingdom. From *Archief Kunst in Beeld*, C 13 (= NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. XXXIV).
 Fig. 42bis: 9th picture Guimet = Ann., pl. XLIV, right, 2nd register.
 Fig. 47bis: from a post-card from the Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

CHAPTER I

NOTES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ART OF DRAWING IN EGYPTIAN RELIEFS AND PAINTINGS



Fig. a. Prince Kaninisut, see p. 4
Old Kingdom.

IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES, we shall try to sketch the principles of the art of relief and painting in the time between the Fourth and the Twelfth Dynasties, as an introduction to our description of the Old Kingdom Tomb Chapel now in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. For this aim we shall confine ourselves to a mere outline of these principles of the classical Egyptian Art of reliefs and painting. In the middle of the Fifth Dynasty this system is fully developed; towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty it is sometimes neglected; in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty it is abandoned more and more. We choose the reliefs of the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, as in our Tomb Chapel, as an example of what we call the classical period of Egyptian Art.

When decorating a wall with different scenes, the Egyptian artist remains fully aware of the fact that he is representing three-dimensional objects on a plane stone wall. He overcomes the difficulty of translating the three-dimensional form of the objects into their two-dimensioned representations by rendering all the characteristic details of their surface. Thus he never draws an object as he sees it from a certain point of view, from a certain distance, and in certain surroundings (what we call perspective drawing), but he draws the characteristic aspects of the object all in one plane, which is the plane of the wall.

He thus carries through a feature very common to the pre-Hellenic art (the art before the Greek art of the fifth century B. C.). The old, non-perspective way is still used after the fifth century B. C. by those who have not come in touch with the new, perspective method, and by children¹.

To these features common to all pre-Hellenic art not influenced by the art of Greece of the fifth century B. C., are added the special characteristics of the *Egyptian* reliefs and paintings. These features are so characteristic, that everybody, after having seen a certain number of Egyptian representations, is able to tell whether a relief, painting, or drawing is 'Egyptian' or not.

What are these characteristic features of the *Egyptian style*?

¹ See J. LANGE, *Die Darstellung des Menschen*, 1899, pp. ix ff. — H. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., 1930, develops the ideas of LANGE concerning Egyptian Art.

When representing an object, the Egyptian artist begins with the *outline*. This outline remains in the centre of his interest; it is the means by which he tells us all he wants about his object¹. The outline also becomes the means of variation. It usually avoids expressing casual features such as wrinkles, shadows, creases, etc.; they are only indicated if they are essential features of the object. The representations render an ideal conception of the object rather than an exact vision of it. The variations are very subtle and this may be the reason why Egyptian drawings seem to differ so little from each other to eyes not yet accustomed to them. Another question is *how* these outlines were executed in different periods; there are certainly quite astonishing differences even in details according to time, place and the special circumstances of such works of art.

The *surface* of the object is treated in a more secondary way, like an inevitable filling-up of the space between the outlines. The muscles for example are hardly indicated in the surface which is treated separately; in this art it has no more connection with the outline than the different parts of the body have with each other.

The outline of the object unites all the different parts of it. These parts are rendered by their respective outlines, each of them being the most characteristic one of the part in question. Or, in other words, having studied the parts, the Egyptian artist again unites them by one common outline; the different contours of the respective parts are uninterruptedly composed; one united and unbroken outline results, by means of which the object is characterized with an extreme clearness of expression as well as with the utmost subtle variability.

The Egyptian
version: human
figures

The normal figure of man in the Egyptian art of relief and painting shows the characteristic parts of the body in the two-dimensional plane of the wall: the head, shoulders and the rest of the body as well as arms and legs. All these parts are represented by their most characteristic outlines. But their characteristic details which are not represented by means of the outline, as for example the eye and the navel, had to be placed in the surface surrounded by the outline. They are only drawn in what might be called a local relation to the outline of the part to which they belong. We give as an example the portrait of prince Kaninisut of the early Fifth Dynasty (see fig. a on p. 1)².

¹ The first idea of discussing the treatment of the surface in this way I owe to the lectures and exercises of Herr Dozent Dr. H. BALCZ at the University of Vienna in 1935-1937. — I now find very similar ideas expressed by Professor H. FRANKFORT, in: *The Mural Painting of El-Amarna*, London (E.E.S.), 1929, chapter I, p. 22: "Thus in Egyptian drawing and relief the whole character of the work resides in the outline, which is refined to such a degree that it became capable of expressing almost everything that the artist had to say." This study was not accessible to me until a very short time ago.

² When choosing for this purpose a portrait we follow the example of the other studies on this subject, although a portrait is already a special version of the Normal Figure.

The head is drawn in such a way that its outline renders as many characteristic details of it as possible and thus it approaches a form that we are used to call *en profil*. However it is no profile such as we are accustomed to. The eye is not drawn *en profil*, but the whole eye is spread in the plane and enclosed by its full-length outline. In this way we are never able to see a human eye: neither from the side, nor from the front¹. If we look at a human face from the front we see the eyes a little foreshortened, because they lie in two different planes none of which is the frontal plane; or, in other words, a line imagined in the right eye from its outer towards its inner corner would not be a continuation of such a line imagined in the left eye. The result is that if we are looking at a human face from the front we see the eyes rounder than they really are. Even if we look at an eye a little from the side we still cannot see the whole of it without a certain foreshortening, because its surface is curved like a spherical segment. In those cases where a human face is rendered from the front, for example in the hieroglyph ☐, the eyes are drawn as mentioned above.

There has been a long discussion whether the part between the shoulders and the legs is drawn from a three quarter view or not². The contour under the shoulders at the front side delineates the characteristic outline of the breast, the part lying between the outlines remaining entirely undetermined. The outlines between the shoulders and the legs are only imaginary lines between them, characterizing these parts in a very subtle way.

The outlines of the upper part of the arms continue the contour of the shoulders, that is to say, on both outsides the musculus triceps and the musculus biceps are represented. But both fore-arms follow the direction of the head and feet of the figure; this direction of the fore-arms is to be seen in the outline indicating the muscles.

The hands are treated specially, that is to say, their outline does not always continue the outline of the fore-arm from the same aspect³. The fingers are spread on the wall, one by one, so that each hand actually has five fingers; any Egyptian relief can furnish astonishing examples to a spectator accustomed to perspective drawing. The outlines of the fingers in good reliefs are admirably refined.

The feet of human beings are represented in such a way, that of each foot only the big toe (and none of the other toes) is visible. As it cannot be assumed that the Old Egyptians wished to represent people having either

¹ Usually it is said to reproduce the front view: e.g. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., p. 273; ZäS, vol. 74 (1938), p. 27 and the following pages. In this last article Schäfer publishes a relief of the Fifth Dynasty with an eyelash. In my opinion this is a very special case rendering the eyelash as a feature in itself thus accentuating the local relationship between the eye and the outline of the forehead.

² e.g. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., p. 267 and the following pages.

³ See below, p. 10.

'two left' or 'two right' feet, efforts have been made to explain this form of representation¹. In my opinion this form closely refers to the ground-line on which it is represented. If a post-Hellenic artist draws a foot with five toes on a ground-line, he treats this line as the border of a ground-plane which must be at least as broad as the feet; this imagined ground-plane may be rather narrow running along the wall, but he imagines the figures acting on it, surrounded by a space of the same width. So he imagines a distance between the figures and their background. There can be no question of such a distance for the Egyptian artist; to him the wall remains a plane and is never used to represent atmosphere. In accordance with this fact the ground-line is conceived as a line. From the latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards the artists sometimes abandon the ground-line system of composition, dispersing the objects freely on the wall; at the same time it becomes possible to draw feet with five toes.

In this regard it seems useful to mention a rather common mistake in the reproductions of a figure of a maid-servant in the tomb of REKHMIRÉ at Thebes (nr. 100). In the Egyptian reliefs and paintings the normal figure unites the peculiarities of the human body in such a way, that it reminds us of different views from the front and from the side, though these relations to any 'views' remain vague. But there are very few cases, dating from a certain period (about 1450 B. C.), in which some artists seek new variations: for example some figures playfully variate the old type in such a way, that they remind us of a 'view from behind'. This not so much by means of the outline—which is only slightly varied—but more by the intervening lines. Modern spectators are inclined to interpret the servant-girl of REKHMIRÉ evidently as 'seen from behind', therefore they draw her feet on the ground-line in quite another way than the Egyptian artist did. The girl is turned towards the right. The modern copyist, used to perspective drawing, renders her right foot covering her left foot, seeing that her right leg is covering her left leg. But the



Fig. b

photograph reveals the mistake of the modern copy: although her right leg covers her left leg, still her right foot does not cover her left foot, but, on the contrary, is covered by it. The result seems to be an 'impossible twisting' to anybody used to perspective drawing. How deeply the modern methods of drawing still influence

¹ As the explanation of SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., p. 279 seems to be undisputed until now, I try to translate it here: "The primal observation (*Urwahrnehmung*) is not made on bodies of other people, but on one's own body. Considering the manner of human locomotion, the innerside (of the feet) will naturally be observed and touched more often than the outside"; Schäfer concludes that this form is a "rest (*Überlebens*) from the beginning of drawing".

Egyptologists, can be illustrated by a list of modern reproductions of the wrongly copied figure, see fig. b¹.

There is a similar figure in tomb nr. 95 at Thebes, a musician turned towards the left. It is reproduced by PRISSE D'AVENNES² and ROSELLINI³, who can hardly be trusted concerning such details. The new reproduction of the figure by DAVIES (see fig. c) seems to have been reconstructed in a few details by means of ROSELLINI. DAVIES draws the detail in question in the same way as ROSELLINI and PRISSE D'AVENNES: the left foot partly covers the right foot. This is indicated by the contour of the heel of the left foot drawn as a dotted line by DAVIES. We may, perhaps, surmise that the old drawings are not necessarily right here. If we compare the drawing of the girl of REKHMIRÉ with the photograph, we see that the modern artists are inclined to interpret Egyptian drawings in modern ways. This is why we come to the conclusion that the old reproductions of the musician of tomb nr. 95 may be as wrong as those of the servant of REKHMIRÉ, the more so as the mistake in the reproduction of the last has not been remarked hitherto.

The difference between the Old Egyptian drawing and its modern interpretation is the result of the two principles: the Egyptian artist varies in some cases the body, but draws the feet as usual. The modern copyist, interpreting the old drawings in his own way, inevitably sees some space around the figures, a distance between them and the background, and broadens the base-line in his imagination into a ground-plane. Upon its base-plane the figure can put its feet in quite a three-dimensioned way: the foot behind may be imagined in the modern interpretations as standing obliquely, just as any figure would do in a modern illustration drawn with all the conventions of perspective.

Is the 'normal figure' meant to stand or to walk? No Egyptian inscription has come down to us which definitely settles the question. So we entirely depend on the interpretations of modern scholars⁴), most of whom think it was meant to walk.

¹ For references see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, vol. I, p. 133 (19). We here quote a few instances: a — of the drawing (with the mistake quoted above, see here fig. b): LD III 42; ROSELLINI, *Mon. civ. LXXIX*; VIREY, *Mém. Miss.*, vol. V (1894), *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, pl. xli; BREASTED-RANKE, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, Vienna (Phaidon), [1936], p. 212; H. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed. (1930), fig. 254 on p. 293 (which is most remarkable, because this book is still the best and most serious elaborate study on the principals of Egyptian art; Schäfer even uses this drawing as an illustration of the prospectus of his book!) A correct drawing in DAVIES, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē at Thebes*, New York (1935), pl. xxvi. b — of the photograph: *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, vol. II, 349; KRAHMER, *Figur und Raum*, p. 65; this is a better reproduction than the following; STEINDORFF-WOLF, *Die Thebanische Gräberwelt*, pl. VI; WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, vol. I, 89a.

² PRISSE D'AVENNES, *L'Art Égyptien*, vol. II, 7a.

³ ROSELLINI, *Mon. civ.* pl. xcvi, 1.

⁴ WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, vol. III, Text pp. 29-37 (SCHÄFER, *Grundformen des stehenden Menschen*).

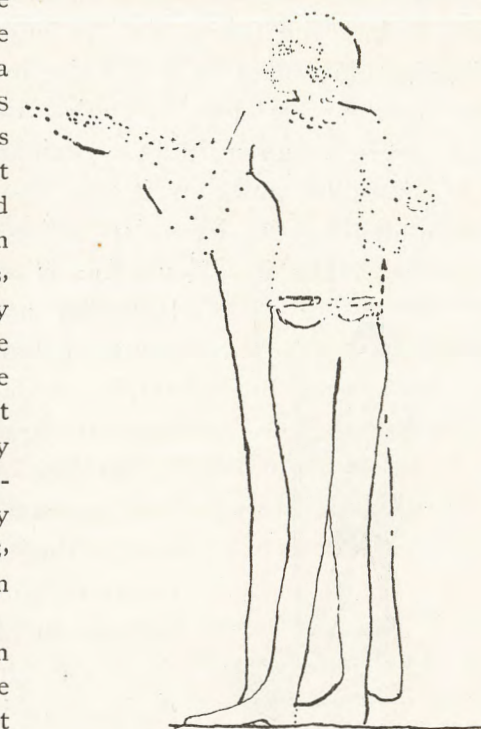


Fig. c

Composition of
the human
figure

Examining the form of the feet of the 'normal figure' thoroughly, we come to the conclusion that it does not render the 'view' of a walking person: there is no moment, when a person walking has both soles fixed to the floor. On the other hand nobody can stand with his feet put closely one before the other. So this is another non-existing pose, neither rendering definite movement in a definite moment, nor rendering the action of walking or standing. It does not give the person any definite action¹, but places the figure in an attitude containing a certain direction².

Another question is the so-called confusion of the right and left sides of figures by the Egyptian artists³. Here again our principles of perspective drawing make it difficult for us to understand the formal conventions of the



Fig. d

Egyptian artists. They were not bound to any 'views', as for example modern artists are in the most stringent way, but they could follow their own formal inspiration⁴. The normal figure is directed towards the right. There is a very common figure of a man holding a sceptre in his right hand⁵; if the figure is turned towards the left, the sceptre is held by what we are inclined to call the 'left hand', but in many cases the artist draws the

situation in such a way, that the figure covers the sceptre, so indicating that the hand holding it is still the right hand (see fig. e). At first we are inclined to see something wrong in it; then we remember that the figure is turned towards the 'wrong side'; so the sceptre covered by the figure helps us to reconstruct the situation properly: 'a figure with the sceptre in its right hand'. But this being a secondary feature it was not always executed in this way, though some artists even came to use it for some figures turned towards the right. The problem of 'left hands on right arms' and *vice versa* must be seen in the same way: the hands are rendered according to their functions in the action of the figure; in most cases they will indicate the very side which they belong to notwithstanding the direction of the whole figure. When drawing the hands in complicated actions they tried to render the action as intelligible as possible on the plane of the wall.

¹ This interpretation I owe to Mr. F. STÄRK (1936).

² For an elaborate study on this problem see G. KRAHMER, *Figur und Raum*, p. 20.

³ See V. RECKLINGHAUSEN, *Rechtsprofil und Linksprofil*, etc., *ZsS*, vol. 63 (1928), pp. 14-36.

⁴ For a discussion on Egyptian aesthetics see H. FRANKFORT, *On Egyptian Art*, *JEA*, vol. 18 (1932), pp. 33-48.

⁵ This fact is known from the representation of the same figure in plastic art, see fig. d.

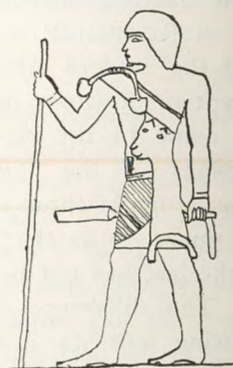


Fig. e

The representations of the great show all these peculiar qualities in their purest form. Are these representations 'portraits'?¹ We usually call 'portraits' representations of a person showing his or her personal features which may be rather different if the same person is portrayed by different artists and according to his or her lifetime at the moment of portraying. Within the limits of the circumstances of the moment modern artists try to give more than only the outward features of the model; they want to tell us something about his or her character. A portrait might even tell us something of the person's development and capability. We might call this sort of portrait historic. In Egyptian Art we find no such ideas. These portraits are entirely unhistorical, beyond the limit of time, thus 'eternal'. Still there can be no doubt that statues are meant to be portraits and that they show a likeness to the owner. But this resemblance is based on quite different principles than in modern times. We may call it an 'ideal likeness', though this expression does not cover the entire problem; for our purpose, which is to see whether we can speak of 'portraits' at all in Egyptian Art, we content ourselves to state the possibility of speaking of sculptured portraits, never forgetting that we have another notion of 'likeness in a portrait' than the Old Egyptians had.

If the Ka-statues are spoken of as portraits, the representations of the owner of a tomb on its walls can be understood in the same way. His names and titles are clearly written next to them. But here the likeness is still more reduced being substituted by the 'ideal' form of the nobleman. The portraits are meant to be representative. A nobleman in an aristocratic society is much more bound by inevitable laws of custom than any other person of a lower rank. In his portraits only a few attitudes representing his various activities are admitted: sitting on a throne or 'standing'. These attitudes are used for any scenes illustrating the inspection of his servants' works; for the offering scene; and for his portrait following his name in prayers and speeches. Another form is the portrait of the gentleman when hunting, mostly the fish-spearing scene and the scene of hunting birds with a throw-stick. The representation of the action is reduced to a mere indication. The artist makes an abundant use of his freedom from any convention of perspective in order to avoid any attitude unbecoming to a nobleman.

When representing servants no such ideas had to be considered by the artist. Servants had to be useful to the owner of the tomb; so they were represented only in connection with their work. It seems as if movements expressing their activity deprive them of their personal qualities. Thus we

¹ For a discussion of this problem see e.g. H. SCHÄFER, *Das altägyptische Bildnis*, Glückstadt [1936]; A. SCHARFF, *Egyptian Portrait-sculpture*, *Antiquity*, vol. 11 (1937), pp. 174-182; A. SCHARFF, *Typus und Persönlichkeit in der ägyptischen Kunst*, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 19 (1939), Heft 1-2; H. JUNKER, *Giza*, vol. v, Wien, 1941, pp. 114-121.

seldom find names of servants inscribed on the representations of the Fifth Dynasty. The personality of the servants is diminished by their activity. The normal figure of the nobleman on the contrary was meant to represent his dignified personality. When representing servants the artist's centre of interest lay in the rendering of their actions. He begins to work with the formal preoccupation dictated by the above described 'normal figure' and proceeds varying this figure according to its action. Of course this does not mean that a figure in action had never been drawn by an Egyptian artist before the principles of the 'normal figure' were settled; but from this moment we see a clear predomination of the latter, so that the figure in action can be looked upon as being derived from the 'normal figure'.


Variations of
the normal
figure

What changes does the normal figure undergo when it becomes active?

In this case the left and right sides of the normal figure become the front and back for the action. Again there are a few types of figures: the form of the feet and body in most cases need not be varied much. But the actions of the arms could not so easily result from a simple variation of the normal figure. We have said above, that the upper parts of the arms are rendered symmetrically just as the shoulders. These forms could very well be applied to actions, where only one arm was needed in front of the figure. But if the second arm had to cover a part of the body in order to join the movement of the first arm, it could not reach as far as this first arm. In any case, where both hands of the 'normal figure' had to grasp one or more objects at the same distance from the figure, the right hand could not reach as far as the left hand. One of the arms (the right arm of the 'normal figure') had to cover a greater distance.

A new form was invented in order to make it possible that both arms could cover the same distance by simply drawing both shoulders in such a way, that they were both on the side of the action, which is in most cases the 'front'. The resulting figure has its shoulders on the side on which the action had to be executed, and is drawn all in one plane just as the 'normal figure' is (see fig. f).

Another type had to be invented for a man in action with both hands in front of him without the necessity of covering exactly the same distance with both arms stretched out. In this case a difficulty rose from the symmetrically represented muscles on the upper part of the arm. The right arm of the normal figure had now to be taken as one unit according to its function. Thus the triceps and the biceps of the right arm had to be drawn on the same side as the muscles of the fore-arm which we see on a stretched arm (the palm of the hand being turned upwards) on the same side as the thumb and, if the action had to be executed on the left side of the figure (which is the front in relation to the action), all these muscles would have to be drawn on the 'inner side' of the right arm. This is quite im-

possible because the triceps covers the joint of the arm and the shoulder on the outside. There is only one possibility of drawing all these muscles of both arms on the same side (that is to say to the front in relation to the action): to let the right shoulder join the movement of the right arm, so covering a part of the body, see fig. g. As the figure is conceived by means of adding its parts, it is easily composed anew with the shoulder following the action of the arm. The hieroglyph  clearly shows, that the joint between shoulder and arm was considered as belonging to the latter.¹

For actions where the right hand had no need to reach very far to the



Fig. f



Fig. g

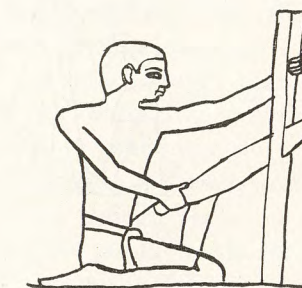


Fig. h

left side ('front') and its action was not very vigorous, the shoulder of the 'normal figure' could be maintained (see fig. h).

There are a few cases where we are inclined to speak of representations *en profil*². These are representations of statues. Whether they are derived from sketches on blocks before the execution of statues or not, is a question to be studied by itself; we only mention it here in order to complete these notes. At first sight it seems to be an 'exception', but when we compare these representations with the 'normal figure', we see that in our case we can only speak of a variant of the normal figure: only the contour of the 'left' shoulder differs from the form of fig. a discussed above. Up to the 'left' shoulder, even including the contour of the breast, we find the normal outline, so that the 'left' shoulder seems to be 'cut off' (see fig. i). It looks as if the Egyptians themselves considered the resulting form as awkward; they prefer to cover the contour just in the place where the shoulder would join³. In the latter part of the



Fig. i

¹ See e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 49; 51.

² e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti* 64-66; see fig. i; MIFAO, vol. LXV (1939), *Le Tombeau de Ti*, pl. LIV, LV.

³ See fig. j; *Deir el Gebrâwi*, vol. I, pl. XIV (a woman's statue); *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. XXIX lower register (Middle Kingdom). — Besides the drawings of statues the form with the cut-off left shoulder is only known to me e.g. from the traditional figure of the foreign captive with both arms bound together at his back, on the slab tablet SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., pl. 2, 2; 3, 1; BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sashu-re*, vol. I, pl. II; on the sandals of Tuthankhamen, etc. and from a very

Eighteenth Dynasty, the period of so many changes, the artists begin now and then to try another form: the contour of the back is continued in the outline of the 'right' (behind) shoulder and arm. A rounded-off figure is the result, a form that fits in very well in the loose elegance of the art of its time, see fig. k.

Composition
of scenes

To complete these notes on the principals of Egyptian Art a few words must be said on the composition of the reliefs and paintings. Scenes represented side by side on the same walls need not have a more than purely formal relationship to each other. Or, in other words, the scenes are united by their formal relations but their contents are not always related to



Fig. j



Fig. k

each other. For instance there may be scenes on water side by side with scenes on land. On the other hand a series of scenes with the same contents are very often united on the same pane of a wall, as for example the well-known wrestler's scenes¹; but these need not follow each other as on a film². The space between the scenes is left out as irrelevant. Representations of landscape we only find there, where they are needed to explain the contents of a scene, such as in hunting-scenes³. In none of them we are able to find any indication of what we call 'space'. There are a few types: the hunting

few figures working in a similar position, as e.g. SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., pl. 22, 3=Meir, vol II, pl. 25, 2. A similar form: the man cutting wood LD II, 108 (three times) and LD II, 111c; they are all destroyed now (see VARILLE, in MIFAO, vol. LXX (1938)). With this form can be compared a similar form of the New Kingdom: NEWBERRY, *Rekhmara*, pl. XVIII. A variant of this form in BREASTED-RANKE, *Geschichte Ägyptens* (Phaidon-Ausgabe), pl. 247 (Beni Hasan). I cannot decide, whether the three scribes represented *en profil* reproduced by LEPSIUS (LD II, 107), now destroyed, are drawn exactly as the original. (One of them turned the wrong side, is reproduced by WOENIG, *Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten*, 1886, and then reproduced by MOGENSEN, *Le Mastaba*, fig. 28). How difficult it is to trust old reproductions of Egyptian drawings can be shown by many details: e.g. the cut-off shoulder of the fighting figure (LD II, 107) looks as if the shoulder had not been "cut-off" entirely, but in DÜMICHEN, *Flotte*, pl. XXVIII it seems to be drawn like a statue *en profil*; the shoulder in question is damaged according to the reproduction PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Mon.*, pl. XXXVIII (marked XXXVII, see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, vol. IV, 134). I think it was a form as e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 110, or Ptahhetep, vol. II, pl. XIV (twice). A similar man in the left boat LD II, 107 is reproduced much better by PRISSE, *Mon.*, pl. XXXVIII (marked XXVII). See also LD II, 9 (fisherman); the same scene, quite differently copied, see WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners*, vol. I, 209, nr. 100! Probably the shoulder of the figure in question has been rounded off a little in order to follow the movement of the arm.

¹ Beni Hasan, vol. II, pl. v; pl. xv.

² See H. WILSDORF, *Ringkampf im alten Ägypten*. Körperliche Erziehung und Sport, Schriften des Instituts für Leibesübungen der Universität Leipzig, Heft 3, Würzburg (1939), pp. 31-32.

³ On the representation of landscape see E. BILLE-DE MOT, *Quelques remarques* (see our bibliography).

scenes in the desert show the game and the hounds on curved base-lines imitating the hilly territory. The water is usually indicated by the well-known rectangle on the base-line to which hippopotamus, crocodile and wading men are clinging as usually. Another type of landscape shows the figures acting against a background of reeds. This form is not very common for the representations of the great, but apparently was used for this purpose only in a few cases¹. Cornfields in harvest-scenes are similarly represented: from the base-line a thick mass of stalks rises with ears up to the height which it usually has in relation to the men cutting it; no more efforts are made to indicate the landscape².

Under the more than in one way remarkable reliefs of HOTEPEP in the Berlin Museum there is one showing the lady on an excursion through the papyrus marshes³. The background of this scene is covered by dispersed lotuses. SCHÄFER⁴ thinks that the whole background had been painted blue in order to indicate water, the colour of which would have disappeared now. It is possible that, by thoroughly examining the relief in the Berlin Museum, it may be proved by a trace of blue colour in the 'background' that the artist meant to cover it with a representation of water though there is the usual rectangle of water below. But if no trace of colour can be found in the background of the relief Berlin 15420 I prefer to compare the scattered lotuses in the background with the representations of fish in the very common scenes of men preparing fish probably for their own use⁵.

HOTEPEP is represented on nearly the same scale as her servants here and on the relief Berlin Museum 15421⁶, where her servants' names are elaborately written there, where otherwise their exclamations or the titles of the scenes are to be found. Perhaps we may conclude that HOTEPEP was not a lady of such high rank as those, who in her time had tombs with reliefs. So it may be that for the representations of this lady the artist used a form which in other cases he only used for servants.

Generally speaking we can say, that the walls were covered with scenes meant to be useful to the owner of the tomb. So he is usually represented on a larger scale at the end of a wall or a series of scenes, overlooking the whole⁷. The scenes are divided over the different registers before the lord of the tomb, just as the lines of an Old Egyptian document, written vertically, are bound together by the first horizontal line as a brace⁸. In the same way the figure of the owner of the tomb is usually represented

Composition
of walls

¹ e.g. Ti, STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 113.

² See e.g. our figs. 47 and 48, pp. 81 and 82.

³ *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, vol. II, p. 238 upper; SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., pl. 15, 2.

⁴ *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., p. 178.

⁵ see e.g. our fig. 30, p. 60.

⁶ *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, vol. II, 238 below.

⁷ see e.g. our fig. 44, p. 79.

⁸ e.g. Papyrus Berlin 8860 in: *Hieratische Papyrus a.d. kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, 9. Heft, Leipzig (1905), p. 4. — See also M. BAUD, *Les Dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine*, MIFAO, vol. LXIII (1935), p. 2, note 6: "...il vient à considérer les lignes des registres comme les réglures d'une page à écrire et les grands personnages importants comme les lettres capitales d'un texte imprimé"; Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pp. 14-16.

after his names and titles, at the end of prayers and speeches, forming a well-limited part of the decoration, for instance on the lintels of the false-door.

The scenes on each wall form a unit in such a way, that none of the scenes are represented partly on one pane or wall, and partly on the adjoining wall, so that the construction of the room, for example the corners, is never ignored. Sometimes there is a connection between some of the scenes of two adjoining walls, forming an apparent exception, but those relations are limited to the contents, whereas the formal relations are expressed as little as possible by the movements of the figures.

For instance this is the case with the lowest registers of all the decorated walls in the Leiden Tomb Chapel, which are covered by scenes with the same contents: men bringing cattle, slaughtering it, cutting off the pieces, and carrying them away. This series runs from the entrance towards the false-door, on both sides nearly symmetrically. In some of the registers on the north and south walls of the offering chamber one of the men is closely connected with the adjoining false-door bringing offerings towards it. — In the Maṣṭaba of KANINISUT in the Vienna Museum¹ the owner is represented in the western corner of the north wall looking east and his wife is rendered next to him on the west wall, north corner, looking north, thus being closely in contact with her husband 'round the corner'. The artist was asked to represent the wife of the owner next to his portrait on the north wall; but this wall being rather narrow he made use of the space under the lintel of the adjoining false-door on the west wall for the representation of the lady. For this purpose he only had to turn round a figure well-known on the jambs of the false-door.

Scenes and their inscriptions

The scenes are mostly completed by inscriptions filling up the space left out between the representations. They are either the 'title' of the scene, i.e. the designation of the represented object or action (the latter expressed by an infinitive), or the exclamations of the pictured persons. The Egyptian writing-system uses letters as complements of ideograms. If the ideogram is distinctive enough to recognize the object, it can be used for the spelling of the word without further complements; if it is not clear enough, complementary letters are needed to indicate the exact word. We find the same system in the composition of the reliefs and paintings: the representations have the functions of ideograms, the inscriptions of phonetical complements.

The forms in their courses

The owner of the tomb ordered certain scenes to be executed; the artist drew them in agreement with the traditions of his studio. He varies the 'normal figure' in order to express the necessary movements. The figure thus drawn by an Egyptian artist undergoes the same fate as any form created and afterwards looked at by somebody else: it is

¹ H. JUNKER, *Giza*, vol. II, Abb. 18 and 19.

interpreted. An artist draws a figure; another artist looks at it and the form is impressed on his mind. Later he himself may be asked to draw a series of scenes and he remembers the form he has been looking at and of which he has perhaps made a sketch in a sketch-book. He then may use this form for the same picture, that is to say for the same figure in the same context. Sometimes he may also have to draw a scene which he has never seen rendered before. Then he must invent a new form. Most artists prefer to use for this purpose a form of a figure which they already know in another context. They thus use an old form for new contents. They have studied the forms by themselves and so they can easily transpose them: in many cases we are inclined to think that an artist interprets a certain scene differently from its original meaning and that its form is simply used because the artist thinks it suitable for his new subject. This artist's interpretation is very common in history of art¹. The same forms are executed thousands of years, especially in decorative art. A special sort of the artist's interpretation in *Egyptian Art* is due to the fact, that the contours of the Egyptian figures could be rather easily interpreted in more than one way. There is more than one possibility of interpreting the outline of a figure, the limbs of which are not distinctively spread against the background. Sometimes quite astonishing forms result from such 'interpretations by the artist' of which we give here a few examples.

VARIATIONS OF THE DRAWINGS OF HUMAN FIGURES BY CHANGING THE LINES BETWEEN THE OUTLINES

THE FORE-ARM COVERS THE UPPER ARM AND VICE VERSA



Fig. l



Fig. m



Fig. n



Fig. o



Fig. p

¹ See F. SAXL, *Die Ausdrucksgebärden in der bildenden Kunst*, in: *Bericht über den 12. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie*, Jena, 1932; especially p. 16 and the following pages.

AN ARM COVERS THE BODY AND *VICE VERSA*, THE OUTLINE OF THE WHOLE FIGURE NEARLY REMAINING THE SAME



Fig. q
The arm covers the body



Fig. r
The body covers the arm

ANOTHER RESULT OF A SIMILAR VARIATION

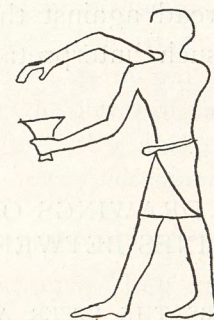


Fig. s

A FIGURE BEARING A CHEST



Fig. t
The arm covers the head



Fig. u
The head covers the arm



Fig. v
Same form used for herdsman driving cattle with stick

TWO FIGURES WITH THE SAME OUTLINES OF THE UPPER PARTS



Fig. w
The right arm covers the body

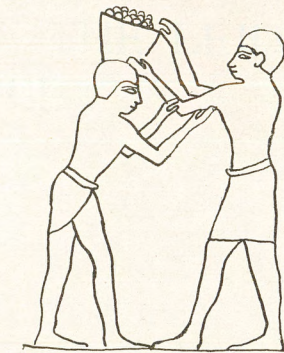


Fig. x
The 'right arm' of fig. w becomes the left arm of the figure to the left. It is partly covered by the body and the other upper arm

COMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE 'WRONG-SIDE' FIGURE



Fig. y
A harvesting man holds a small sheaf to his breast with his left hand, cutting with his right hand



Fig. z

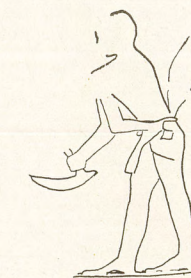


Fig. aa
Same figure as fig. z, the outlines of the arms being 'wrongly' interpreted

CHAPTER II

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE LEIDEN
TOMB CHAPEL

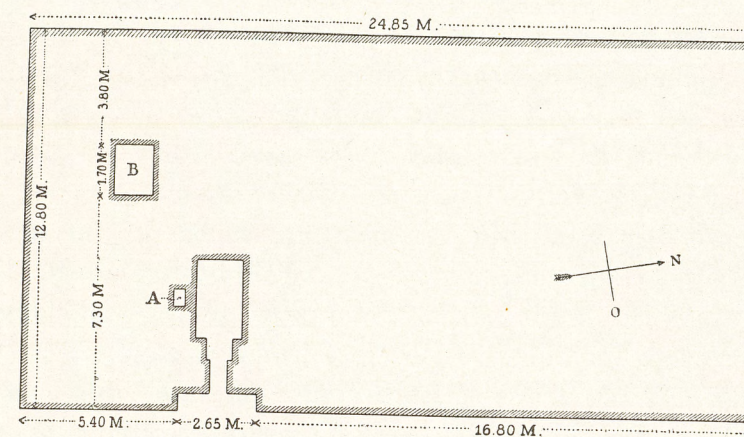


Fig. bb. Ground-plan of the tomb.
See p. 21

THE POSITION OF THIS TOMB among the others of its period can be fixed by means of the Kings' names mentioned in it: they at least state a *terminus post quem*. The general style of its reliefs as well as of its inscriptions makes it what we call a typical example of the Fifth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara.

Date and
Position

The detailed study of its features and their comparison with those of other tombs show that it must have been worked out in close connection with the artists of the tomb of TI; there is more than one fact allowing us to state that our Chapel was decorated by artists coming from the same studio as those who were engaged by TI. Nevertheless we see that the Leiden Tomb was not decorated by the masterly hand whose work we admire in some of the finest reliefs of TI. Other Maṣtabas with a certain connection as far as scenes are concerned are those of NEFERIRTENEḤ, now in the Brussels Museum, and of KAI-EM-REHU, now in Copenhagen. There are also many resemblances in the decoration of the tomb of WER-IRENI in Sheikh Said¹ and of KHUNES in Zawījet el Meitīn², and in the decoration of a few tombs from a little later date than the Leiden Maṣtaba in its neighbourhood in Saqqara, such as PTAHHOTEP, GEMNIKAI, SABU and others. The owner of the Leiden Tomb was a high civil officer in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

The ground-plan of the Chapel is somewhat different from the ground-plans of the tombs quoted above. It is simpler. There is only one room (see fig. bb). The one-room offering-chamber has been quite common from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. But one-room chapels as well as the room containing the false-door in most chapels with more rooms, have their *entrances normally at the end of one of the longer sides*, so that the visitor on his way towards the false-door had to alter his direction once more, after having passed over the threshold of the chamber ('broken- or multiple-axial' system). There are only very few examples with the entrances in the middle of one of the walls and with the false-door directly opposite to it ('uni-axis' system)³.

Ground-plan of
the Chapel

¹ Dated by BRUNNER, *Die Entwicklung der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, Glückstadt, 1936 (Ägyptologische Forschungen, nr 3), p. 28: middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

² Dated by BRUNNER, *Felsgräber*, p. 35: second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

³ Some instances with the entrance and the false door opposite to each other in the middle of the long walls: MARIETTE, *Maṣtabas*, D. 16; 48; C. 15. An example with the entrance in one of the short walls (north), the false door evidently at the end of the right-hand long wall: MARIETTE *Maṣt.* D. 28. Entrance and false-door opposite to each other in the short walls: e.g. MARIETTE *Maṣt.* D. 59; D. 25.

Some tombs, such as the chapel of the father of WER-IRENI in Sheikh Said, consist of two or three rooms one beyond the other, the entrances lying all in one line cutting the longer walls of each room in two parts of the same length. At the end of this suite of rooms a statue-group is hewn out of the rock, so overlooking all the rooms and looking straight at the visitor; as the necropolis is situated on the east bank of the river, the axes of the tombs are directed towards the east too; the false-doors had to be set into the entrance walls¹.

Of the contemporary examples with entrance and false-door opposite to each other in the short walls, the Leiden Chapel is the most elaborate one as far as I know. The ground-plan of the Leiden Tomb shows a form that only in the Middle Kingdom, in the twelfth Dynasty, becomes a new stylistic feature. BRUNNER² uses for his dating of the Rock Tombs of the First Intermediate Period, the fact, that those tombs developed their ground-plans from a complicated system of broken axes towards the longitudinal uni-axial complex (known e.g. from Beni Hasan). The uni-axis system becomes the theme of all the later tombs.

It is true, that the longitudinal single-axial system did not become a feature of the style but in the Twelfth Dynasty. But it is possible still earlier, as our Maṣṭaba shows. Why does it not become a feature of the style before that period? To us it seems to be the most natural thing not to build in the multiple-axes way, but to use for every ceremonial room or hall only one definite axis leading from the entrance towards the centre—the altar of a church or the throne of a king.

It is a feature of the Egyptian civilization through all its centuries to cling to traditions. It seems that there must have been a very strong feeling that a form, once created, must be left untouched. To save everything created, to let it live eternally, in order to get the same favour when dead, seems to be a very Egyptian feeling. This may be the reason why a form often lives longer than one expects.

The single-axis system with its sense of symmetry came to its full development in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty even for private tombs, as the example of the Leiden Maṣṭaba demonstrates. If it only comes into use considerably later on, we must take this as a very remarkable quality of the Egyptian mind. If such an important thing as the ground-plans of the tombs of the great were carried out in an archaic style, when there was the possibility of building in a more developed way, we may perhaps conclude, that the great of this time *wished* to have their tombs built in the old way, just as the King *wished* to reign as the Kings of the Old Kingdom reigned.

¹ BRUNNER, *Felsgräber*, pp. 30—31.

² *Felsgräber*, pp. 37; 39; 60; 61.

Symmetry has been used to a remarkable extent in this tomb. Already on the façade we see it, but this is a very common feature of all decorated façades of the time. In the first corridor the uppermost registers show an almost complete symmetry. The lower registers on both sides treat similar objects in similar ways (the procession of the statues on their way towards the tomb on the day of the burial). The second corridor seems to be an exception: the usual boats on the left, but baking and brewing on the right. But we understand that it was difficult to find a series of scenes which would fit in as a counterpart to the boats; so the right (north) side wall was filled with the baking and brewing. These scenes are well-known from the Maṣṭaba of Tī; also they are very closely connected with them.—The east wall of the chamber shows symmetry at least in the parts right and left to the door.—The great walls north and south contain a selection of the usual scenes in the marshes (north) and in the country (south), perhaps thus calling to mind the two different sorts of estates in the Delta and in Upper Egypt which the great of the time possessed. The composition of the two walls is nearly symmetrical; in the upper corner at the side of the false-door the nobleman sits (on the south-wall before an offering-table, on the north-wall watching the occupations of his men) with two registers in front of him; in the lower corners near the entrance he is represented on both walls, but turned towards the right also on the north wall, because here the artist wanted to avoid the 'wrong-side' figure¹. The lowest registers of the walls of the corridor as well as of the east, north and south walls of the chamber show the procession of men bringing cattle, binding it, slaughtering it and carrying away the pieces to the place of the offerings (the false-door). In the middle of the north wall there are three groups of slaughtering scenes, and on the south wall we can easily reconstruct the middle part of the lowest register in the same way, as the scenes to the right and left of the damaged middle part show a remarkable likeness to their respective counterparts on the opposite north wall.—The false-door shows in its vertical parts a nearly complete symmetry.

Symmetry also reigns in the composition of most of the scenes themselves². On the narrow walls of the corridor a whole register is sometimes symmetrically composed, or at least groups show symmetrical composition. Perhaps the fact that the artist prefers symmetrical composition is the reason why the son of the owner, NI-ANKH-PTAH, is depicted twice in the boat, from which his father is spearing fish. In the Maṣṭaba in the Brussels Museum this scene is rendered together with the catching of birds with a boumerang,

¹ See chapter I.

² On this subject see a detailed study by H. BALCZ, *Symmetrie und Asymmetrie in Gruppenbildungen der Reliefs des Alten Reichs*, Mitt. d.d. Inst. Kairo, vol. I (1930), pp. 137-152.

so that these two scenes form a nearly symmetrical unit. It seems, that a composition as in Brussels would fit in very well in the Leiden Tomb Chapel, and, if the artist had had only more room for decoration, we would certainly find the bird-catching scene on the south wall, opposite to the fish-spearing scene on the north wall. By turning the fish-spearing nobleman away from the rest of the scenes on the north wall, the artist avoids not only the wrong-side figure, but he can also draw the long papyrus stems in a corner; if drawn in the centre of the wall they would unseemly cut the wall into two parts.

As to the style of the decorating reliefs, it is closely connected with the style of the decorations of the tomb of T_I at Saqqara; but in our Maṣṭaba the bodies and the limbs of the figures (we would say: of the models) are less rounded off than is the case with most of the scenery in the tomb of T_I; in this respect our decorations can be compared with those of the Maṣṭaba in Copenhagen; but even compared with this tomb, the figures of the Leiden Tomb are less clumsy, because their limbs and bodies are longer and thinner. The movements of the figures in Leiden are calmer than in the tomb of T_I, the figures of which differ from those in the neighbouring tombs in most cases by their ample movements. Generally speaking the contours of the Leiden figures are straighter than those in the tomb of T_I. But still the Leiden figures differ from each other in the different scenes, so that even by means of a very detailed comparison of their forms it will be difficult to state how many different types of figures there are to be distinguished in the Leiden Tomb Chapel and it will be still more difficult to state how many artists drew them.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTORY CATALOGUE OF THE
WALL DECORATIONS

A GUIDE TO THE DETAILED DESCRIPTION IN CHAPTER IV

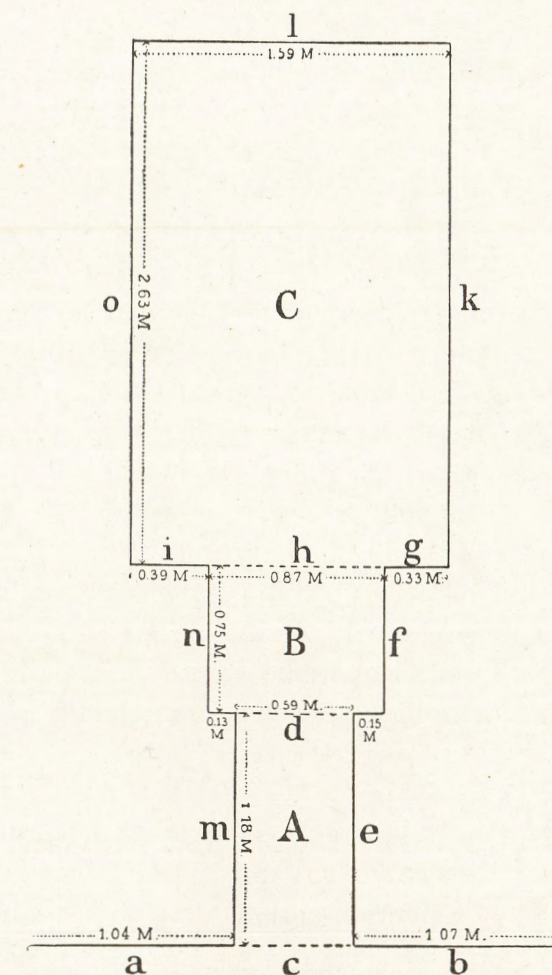


Fig. cc. Ground-plan of the decorated parts of the tomb. Letters in the catalogue refer to this figure.

A HIGH EGYPTIAN OFFICER in the residence of Memphis, living in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty (2560--2420, Old Kingdom), whose name was HETEP-HER-AKHTI, erected his tomb ('*maṣṭaba*') in the western desert near the residence (Saqqara). There was a chamber in it, the walls of which are decorated with scenes from his life; the decorated parts were transported to the Leiden Museum. No personal deeds, however, are depicted; the scenes are typical for the life of the great in the time of HETEP-HER-AKHTI. This is the life he wished to live eternally and he believed, that the representations through their magical power realised this wish for him. Food, linen, and other necessities of life he must get then from the living Egyptians, together with their prayers ('offering-formula', written e.g. on the facade, see p. 33). In a speech to the passers-by HETEP-HER-AKHTI threatens those, who might do something evil against his tomb with prosecution in the presence of God (see p. 35); in another speech he describes his good character (p. 34). In the corridors and in the chapel, the reliefs with their inscriptions depict either scenes of the burial, the preparation or transport of food, or the life of his men. The west wall of the chamber is a false door, through which the owner is thought to come into our world in order to take his share of the offerings, laid down in front of that door, when the magical formulas were pronounced. The inscriptions on the false door are offering-prayers and in its centre the owner is depicted sitting at an offering-table with a long list of offerings beside it.

We now give a summary of the wall decorations:

Façade (a—c) ¹

- a — left of entrance, p. 34. Speech of owner.
- b — right of entrance, p. 35. Speech of owner.
- c — above entrance, p. 33. Offering formula.

Drum in corridor (d)

- d — p. 36. Titles and name of owner.

First corridor (A), north wall (e)

- 1st reg., fig. 1, p. 37. Offerings.
- 2nd reg., fig. 2, p. 37. Procession with closed shrine.

¹ Letters in this summary refer to fig. cc on p. 25. Moreover (R) means right, (L) left and (M) middle.

- 3rd reg., fig. 3, p. 39. Procession with shrine with statue.
 4th reg., fig. 4, p. 39. (R) Two men driving ox. (L) Four men throwing down young cow.

First corridor (A) south wall (m)

- 1st reg., fig. 5, p. 40. Offerings.
 2nd reg., fig. 6, p. 40. Procession with statue.
 3rd reg., fig. 7, p. 41. Procession with statue.
 4th reg., (L), fig. 8, p. 41. Two men driving antelope.
 (M), fig. 9, p. 41. Man with cage and bundle(?).
 (R), fig. 10, p. 43. Two men with antelope.

Second corridor (B), north wall (f)

- 1st reg., fig. 11, p. 43. (R) Person poking fire. (L) Woman preparing dough.
 (M, R) Woman taking moulds from fire. (M, L) Woman adding ingredient to dough.
 2nd reg., fig. 12, p. 45. (M) Woman detaching grains from stem. (R) Two men stamping grain. (L) Two women grinding.
 3rd reg., fig. 13, p. 46. (M, L) Man kneading dough. (L) Man preparing fermentation of dough. (M, R) Man shaping loaves of bread.
 (R) Slight baking for brewing.
 4th reg., fig. 14, p. 46. (L) Man filtering mash through basket; another man adding liquid. (M) Man pouring beer into jars. (R) Man sealing jars.
 5th reg., fig. 15, p. 47. Man bringing ox; three men throwing down the ox.

Second corridor (B), south wall (n)

- 1st reg., fig. 16, p. 48. Boat with cabin.
 2nd reg., fig. 17, p. 49. Boat with cattle.
 3rd reg., fig. 18, p. 49. Boat laden with other products from estates.
 4th reg., fig. 19, p. 50. Two men driving two antilopes.

Offering-chamber (C), east wall (h, g, i).

- (h) Above door (L), fig. 20, p. 50. Five men catching birds by means of net thrown over tree.
 (R), fig. 21, p. 51. Goats with tree; herdsman. (L) Herdsman drinking, helped by small boy.
 (g) and (i), figs. 22 and 23, p. 52. Offering-bearers.

Offering-chamber (C), north wall (k)

For the division of scenes see p. 53.

- Fig. 24, p. 53. Owner surveying men in marshes. Man offering duck. Man putting birds into cage (see fig. 25).

- Fig. 25, p. 54. Five men catching birds by means of clap-net.
 Fig. 26, p. 57. Fight of boatmen.
 Fig. 27, p. 57. (R) Man tearing out papyrus. (L) Three men binding papyrus-boat.
 Fig. 28, p. 58. (L) Man offering two ducks. (M) Man bringing fish. (R) Man putting fish into basket (see fig. 29).
 Fig. 29, p. 59. Eight men trawling. (R) Boy showing fish to overseer.
 Fig. 30, p. 60. (L) Man drinking in kiosk helped by boy; victuals. (R) Man preparing fish.
 Fig. 31, p. 60. (L) Two men at occupation connected with baking(?). (M, L) Man at doubtful occupation. (M, R) Two men preparing papyrus strings. (R) man spinning; man at doubtful occupation.
 Fig. 32, p. 61. (L) Man bringing jar and rush basket. (M) Man milking cow in front of overseer; between overseer and milking scene two men fighting. (R) Herd.
 Fig. 33, p. 63. (L) Man bringing papyrus; man bringing lotus and a duck. (M) and (R) Three men in boat guiding herd through water.
 Fig. 34, p. 64. Owner spearing fish from boat, accompanied by his son who is depicted twice.
 Fig. 35, p. 74. Two men bringing ox.
 Fig. 36, p. 75. Two slaughtered oxen with five butchers.
 Fig. 37, p. 75. Two butchers cutting up ox. Man with vessel with blood.
 Fig. 38, p. 75. Five offering-bearers.

Offering chamber (C), south wall (o)

For the division of scenes see p. 76.

- Fig. 39, p. 76. Owner at offering-table. Offerings. Man offering duck.
 Fig. 40, p. 77. Offerings.
 Fig. 41, p. 77. Dinner music.
 Fig. 42, p. 78. (R) and (L) Four men carrying two dinner-tables. (M) Man with lotus and jars.
 Fig. 43, p. 78. Two men preparing poultry.
 Fig. 44, p. 79. Owner superintending works on estates. Behind him man with sunshade(?); retainer with sack with linen. (Above) Son of owner.
 Fig. 45, p. 80. (L) Secretary of owner. (M) Man ploughing (covering seed by means of plough). (L) Man calling to cows.
 Fig. 46, p. 80. (L) Man cutting up soil. Second man sowing with boy enticing sheep. (M) Sheep tramping grains into soil, driven by two men. (R) Man cutting up soil; man offering lotus.
 Fig. 47, p. 81. (L) Man harvesting, another man eating. (M) Two men reaping flax, another man drinking. Squatting man binding bundles of flax. (R) Two men harvesting.

- Fig. 48, p. 82. (L) Man holding bundle and calling; man reaping flax. (M) Man playing flute. (R) Two men harvesting; man clapping with his hands.
- Fig. 49, p. 83. Two men throwing sheaves on heap. Person binding sheaves.
- Fig. 50, p. 83. (L) Five drivers running. (R) Two men pulling and pushing resisting asses towards heap of sheaves.
- Fig. 51, p. 84. (L) Two men with heap of threshed straw. (M) Man driving asses. (R) Man throwing sheaf on heap; man holding(?) bundle.
- Fig. 52, p. 84. (L) Two men rousing laden asses. (M) Man driving laden ass. (R) Three men clapping with their hands; heap of sheaves.
- Fig. 53, p. 85. (L) Two men bringing resisting antilope. (M) Two men driving antilope. (R) Two men cutting up slaughtered antilope; man carrying a leg.
- Fig. 54, p. 85. (L) Two men cutting up antilope(?); another slaughtered antilope; man carrying leg. (R) Six offering-bearers, two of which are females.

Offering chamber (C), west wall (I, false door)

pp. 87—89. Offering formulas on door-posts and lintels.

pp. 90—101. Offering list in centre, with owner sitting at offering table.

CHAPTER IV

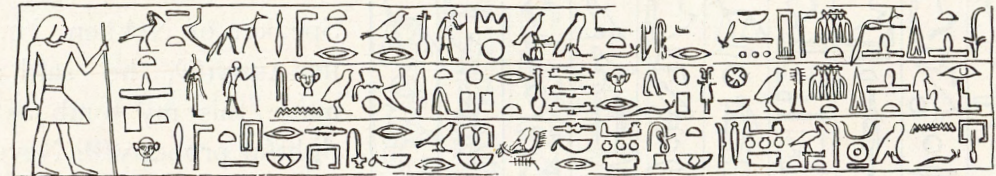
DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES AND TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS




1) INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FAÇADE

(BOESER, *Beschrijving*, pl. v)

A) ABOVE THE ENTRANCE: THE OFFERING-FORMULA



(1) 'May the king give a boon, may Anubis give a boon^(a), he who is in front of the divine booth, the lord of the splendid country (i. e. the necropolis); that he may be buried in the necropolis, when having reached a very beautiful old age, near the Great God. (2) May Osiris give a boon, he who is in front of Busiris, the lord of the nome of Abydos; that he may walk on the beautiful roads upon which the revered ones walk. (3) That the voice may go forth for him^(b) on the day of the rising of Sothis, the THOTH-feast, the feast of the New year, the *Wag*-feast, the feast of Sokaris, the Great Feast, the feast of the burning, the feast of the procession of Min. (4) The Judge, the President of the Hall, (5) the Priest of Maat^(c), (6) HETEP-HER-AKHTI^(d).'

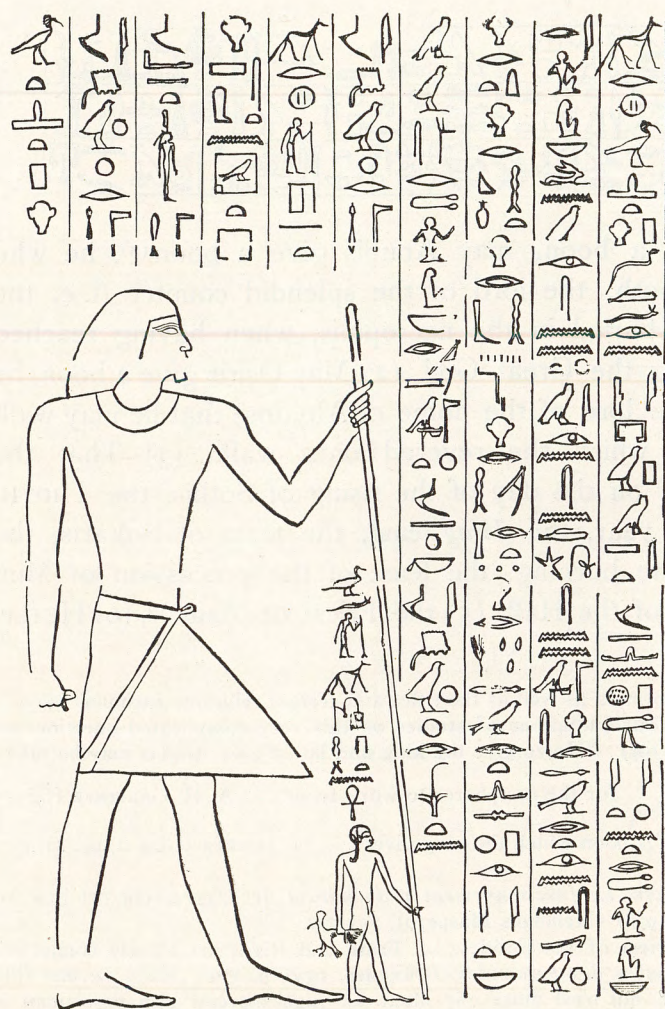
(a) The translation of the offering-formula as well as the titles and certain religious formulas have to remain purely conventional. We confine our quotations of studies on this very complicated question to: F. LL. GRIFFITH (PSBA, vol. 18, pp. 196-197): "Hotep give the king and hotep give Anubis may be taken as the standard expansion of  for the decipherer to work from". — A. H. GARDINER (*Egyptian Grammar*, Excursus B, p. 170, ff.): "A boon which the king gives". — H. JUNKER (*Giza* II, pp. 41-46): „Der König sei gnädig und gebe".

(b) For this expression see J. J. CLÈRE, *Le fonctionnement grammatical de l'expression prỉ hrw en ancien égyptien*, MIFAO, vol. LVI (1935-1938) (Mélanges Maspero), 753-797.

(c) Note that the titles judge and priest of the Goddess of Truth and Right are closely connected. For Maat see J. CAPART, *Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides*, Bruxelles, 1930, p. 179: „Ra, ... a une fille bien-aimée, véritable Minerve égyptienne, qui n'est autre que Maat. Le juge suprême s'en proclamait le grand prêtre". — For the Egyptian conception of "right", "truth", etc., see W. B. KRISTENSEN, *Het leven uit den dood*, Haarlem, 1926 (in Dutch). C. J. BLEEKER, *De beteekenis van de Egyptische godin Ma-a-t*. Dissertation. Leiden, [1929] (in Dutch); B. A. VAN PROOSDIJ, *De eenheid van Waarheid en Recht als wortel (usul) der beschavingen van het Nabije Oosten*, JEOL, vol. I, Leiden, 1938, pp. xxv-xxxii (in Dutch); G. THAUSING, *Der ägyptische Schicksalsbegriff*, Mitt. d.d. I. Kairo, vol. 8 (1938), pp. 46-70.

(d) The name of the owner of the Tomb is read differently by different authors. E.g.: ACHET-HETEP-HER (in the Museum of Antiquities, Leiden); *Ḥḥwt-ḥtp-hr* (C. BOREUX, *Études de nautique égyptienne*, MIFAO, vol. L (1925), p. 178, apparently the same reading as in the Museum); and *Ḥtp-hr-ḥtj* (HETEP-HER-AKHTI). So e.g. H. JUNKER, *Giza*, vol. I, p. 201; H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt, 1935, p. 258, nr 24: „Das Antlitz des (Gottes) *ḥtj* sei gnädig" o.ä. Note the similar names H. RANKE, o.c. p. 259, prs. 1-3.

B) (a) LEFT OF ENTRANCE: SPEECH OF THE OWNER
TO THE PASSERS-BY



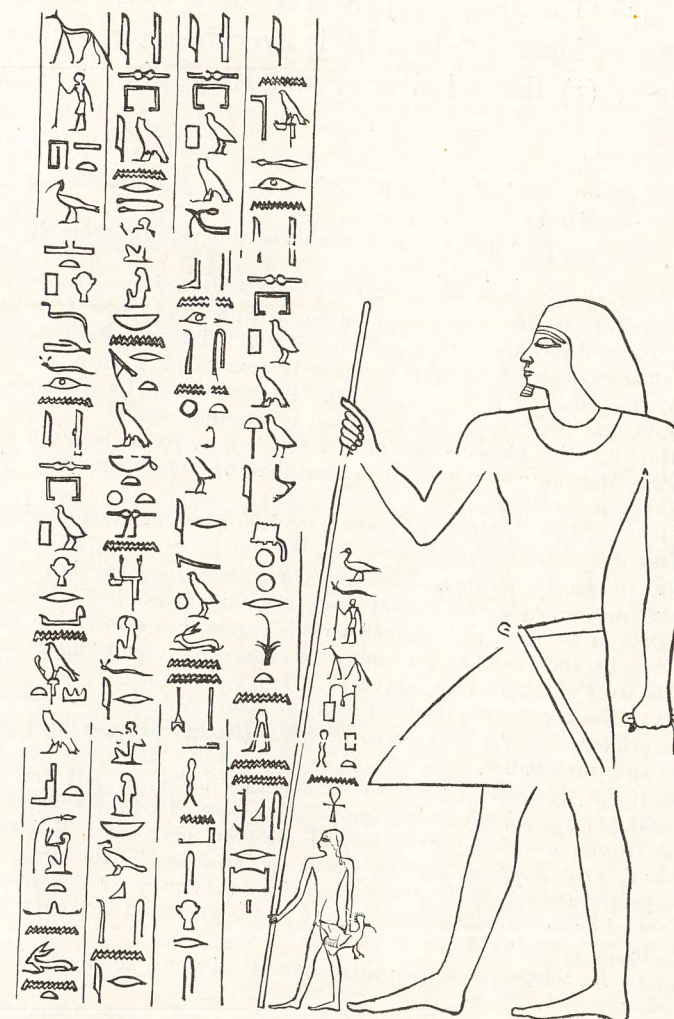
near the Great God, (10) HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

The portrait of the speaker follows preceded by the small figure of his son clinging to his father's staff and holding a hoopoe. Inscription above the son: 'His eldest son, the Judge and Scribe, NI-ANKH-PTAH'.

(a) The inscriptions B and C were edited by K. SETHE, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums I), Leipzig, 1933, pp. 49-51. A translation is to be found in J. H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. I, Chicago, 1906, §§ 252, 253.

C) RIGHT OF ENTRANCE: SPEECH OF THE OWNER TO
THE PASSERS-BY

(1) 'The Judge, the President of the Hall, HETEP-HER-AKHTI, he saith: 'I made this my tomb on the West side in a clear place where there was not yet (2) a tomb of any person (n), in order that the property of one who has gone to his KA (o) might be protected. As to all those, who shall enter (3) this my tomb in their impure state (p) and who shall do something evil against it, I shall be judged with them (q) on account of it (4) by the Great God (r). I made this my tomb because (s) I was a revered one near the King who delivered the sarcophagus to me'.



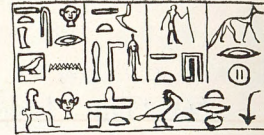
The portrait of the speaker follows preceded by the small figure of his son clinging to his father's staff and holding a hoopoe (t). Inscription above the son: 'His eldest son, the Judge and Scribe, NI-ANKH-PTAH'.

(b) The original omits the Δ of *shj*.

(c) Or: as a rightful property. Here and *Urk. I*, 226, 5 the Δ of *msc:t* is omitted. In *Urk. I*, 71, 17 it is there. A. VOLTEN, *Bauherr und Arbeiter im alten Reich*, (Acta Orientalia, vol. IX (1931), 370-373) suggests as another possibility: aus meinem rechtmässigen Besitz, d.h. ich habe es mit eigenem Gelde bezahlt.

D) ON THE DRUM: TITLES AND NAME OF THE OWNER

(1) 'The Judge, (2) the President of the Hall, (3) the Priest of Maat, (4) he who is over the secrets of the Great House, (5) the relative of the King, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.



Sequel to the notes of pp. 34 and 35

- (d) Read *n sp.*
 (e) *Urk. I, 72, 1* adds *ir:s*: I made this as my rightful property, I did not take the property of anybody for it.
 (f) *Urk. I, 23, 6-9* shows that the general expression *s* (or *rm*) can designate the workmen.
 (g) This is the participle of the construction *wn. f sdm. f*, which occurs *Urk. I, 44, 8*; 59, 16; 66, 12; 194, 10 (probably also *Urk. I, 102, 9*; 217, 7-9); GARDINER-PEET, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I pl. 26, nr. 90, 8, 13. Another example of the participle is to be found *Urk. I, 78, 6*. The relative forms are exemplified by *Urk. I, 57, 15*; 217, 6; *Pyr. 623 c*; 759-760. The construction has the meaning of a past tense; it often, but not always, has implications of repetition or custom.
 (h) For this absolute use of *ir:t* see *Urk. I, 70, 8*: to work was agreeable to them.
 (i) Meaning: they worked in conditions so favourable that, etc.
 (k) I.e. the tomb.
 (l) See *Urk. I, 226, 12*: This was made for me for bread (and) for beer.
 (m) Read *r rm*.
 (n) Read *n wnt*, the *wnt* being a phonetic complement. For the idea of this passage see *Urk. I, 222, 15-18*: in a clear place, in a good place, wherein no work had been done, wherein others before me had never worked. It is I who have opened up this region. See also *Urk. I, 260, 11*.
 (o) I.e. the owner of the tomb; the expression to go to his *ka* means to die. For the det. in abbreviated form see *Pyr. 1439 c* (P.), 1453 a (P.), 1453 f (P.).
 (p) See for this expression J. S. FARE GARNOT, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire*. (Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, T. IX), le Caire, 1938, p. 6.
 (q) I.e. judgement shall be pronounced upon us. *hnc:s* occurs again *Urk. I, 219, 5*; it is either a mistake or an Old Kingdom example of the use of *s* for *sn*, for which see BLACKMAN's note in JEA, vol. xvi (1930), p. 64 f. For the court of the great god, see J. S. FARE GARNOT, *Le tribunal du Grand dieu sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, vol. cxvi (1937), pp. 26-33; H. SOTTAS, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris, 1913.
 (r) For the complicated problem who the great god is see the thorough discussion by H. JUNKER, *Giza II* (1934), pp. 47-54.
 (s) Translation doubtful; litt.: in the shadow of, i.e. under the protection of; the phrase occurs again *Urk. I, 223, 6*.
 (t) See L. KEIMER, *Quelques remarques sur la huppe* (upupa epops) dans l'Égypte ancienne, BIFAO 30 (1931), pp. 305-331.

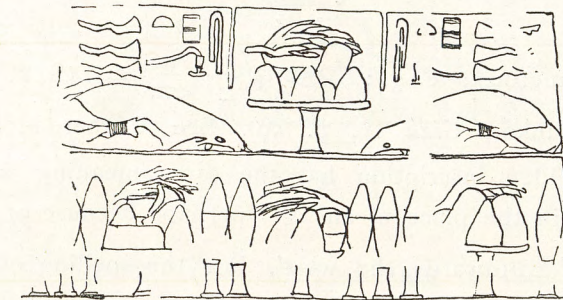
2) SCENES AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE TOMB CHAPEL

Fig. 1

Fig. 1. First corridor, north wall. (BOESER, *o. c.*, pl. ix). First register. A double register with offerings. In the middle a table with vegetables. Nearly symmetrical on either side a slaughtered ox. Inscription to the left: (←) | □ △ ≡ 'Cut-off pieces'; to the right: (→) | □ △ ≡ 'Cut-off pieces'. Compare fig. 5, on opposite wall.

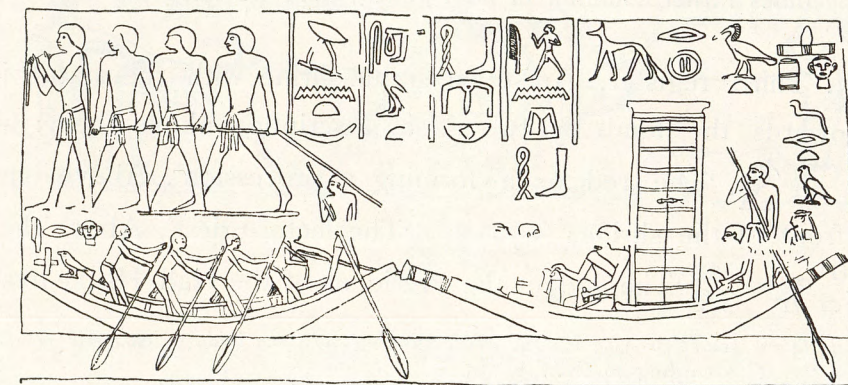


Fig. 2

Fig. 2. Second register. A closed shrine (with a statue) is being transported towards the tomb on a papyrus boat by means of a rowing boat and men pulling from ashore. Inscription, belonging to the (invisible) statue

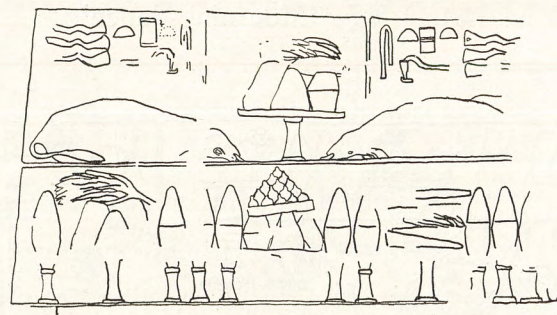


Fig. 5

Fig. 6. Second register. A (sitting) statue is being dragged towards the tomb. Inscription above the five dragging men: (←) (1) 'Accompanying (in procession) the statues of the Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, the President of the Hall, the priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI (2) by the

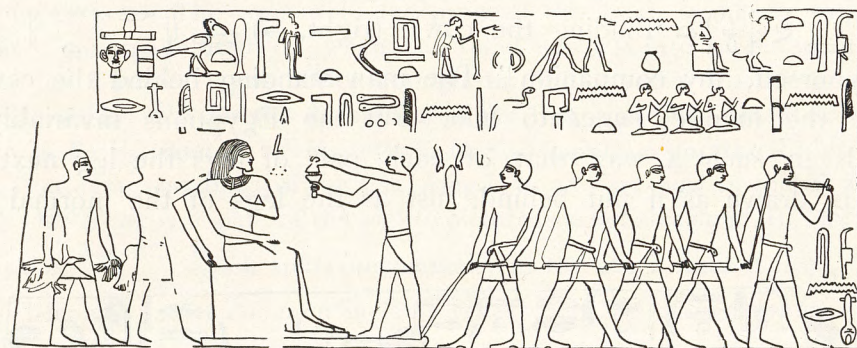


Fig. 6

craftsmen of the tomb'. In front of the men: (←) 'We accompany beautifully'. Above a priest in front of the statue: (→) 'The offering of incense by the *k3*-priest'. A man is holding the statue from behind. Above him, beginning above the statue: (←) 'I am getting on well(?)'. Another man follows with a duck and another bird in his hands.

Above a similar scene on a relief in the Cairo Museum (nr. 1419)¹ is written

¹ L. BORCHARDT, *Kunstwerke aus dem Museum zu Kairo*, pl. 22 (upper register) = G. MASPERO, *Geschichte der Kunst in Agypten*, 2nd ed. (*Ars una*), (1913) Abb. 109, p. 64 = (incomplete and reversed) MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 382 (lower register). L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* (Catalogue Général Caire 1937) I, p. 97.

N. Still this hardly justifies an identification of *hri* and *hn*!. We are not able to state to which figure the inscription in Leiden belongs, nor is it certain that it is a first person; it may be an imperative: be calm!

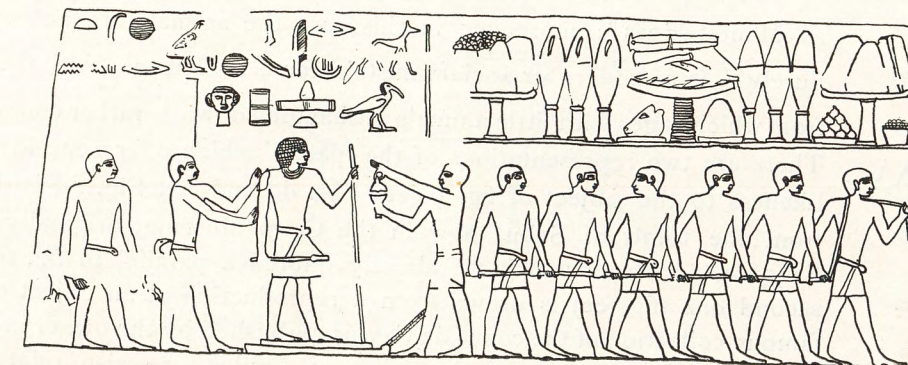


Fig. 7

Fig. 7. Third register. A (standing) statue is being dragged towards the tomb. Above the statue: (←) 'The Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, honoured near the King, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'. A priest in front and two men behind as in the second register, without inscriptions. Six men pulling. The space above them is filled with offerings.

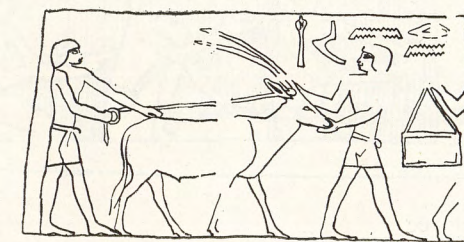


Fig. 8

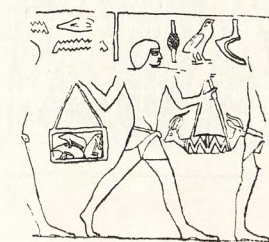


Fig. 9

Fig. 8. Fourth register. Two men with an antelope²: (←) 'Domestic antelope'.

Fig. 9. A man running with a long pole, from the ends of which two different objects are hanging: a cage with little animals and an object

¹ The different spellings of the verb *ššl* noted by MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 108 might perhaps be quoted as an analogy.

² See V. LORET, *Le nom égyptien de l'Oryx*, Archives du Museum de Lyon, x (1909), 175 (quoted after MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 86). — For another instance of the oryx see below fig. 53. — For the translation of *rn* „domestic” see MONTET, *Scènes*, pp. 111-113.

like a parcel with the heads of two young antilopes on each side. Inscription (←) ⤴ above the latter.

A similar man running with a pole from which two rectangular cages(?) are hanging occurs in Gizeh, tomb 16¹; from one of the cages little animals look out and over it runs the inscription ⤴ which cannot be read *m3 h d.w*



Fig. dd

as Montet does²; moreover in this case the animals are no oryxes. Surely ⤴ is a modern or ancient mistake for ⤴. — The man with the pole from which cages with little animals are hanging down, is rather common³. There are two representations of the 'parcel' which offer a considerable likeness to the object of fig. 9 (see figs. dd and ee). Fig. dd is drawn from the tomb of Sabu, now in the Cairo Museum, originally from Saqqara, and from which we already quoted a parallel to fig. 6. The second one (fig. ee) is drawn from a reproduction of an object of the famous collection of the count de Caylus, published by the owner in 1759.

As the other scenes of the relief of Caylus are also related to scenes of the Leiden Tomb Chapel, I tried to get a better reproduction of it,

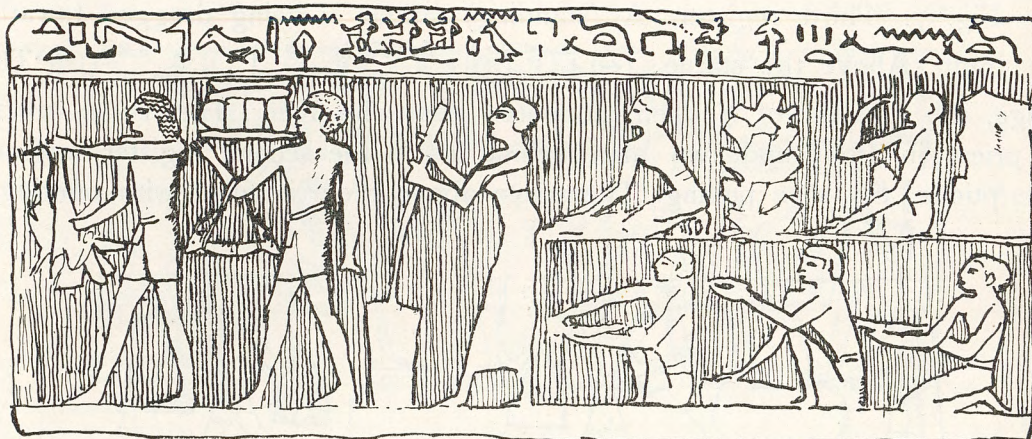


Fig. ee

but in vain⁴. Judging only from the drawing published by CAYLUS I am unable

¹ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 54.

² *Scènes*, p. 136.

³ e.g. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II 54; 12; 31; 91C. STEINDORFF, *Ti* 128. *Beni Hasan* I, xxxv (Middle Kingdom). A very good example in R. MACRAMALLAH, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*, Cairo, 1935, pl. x. — "Parcels": BISSING *Gemnikai* I, xxxii; II, xxx. *Ankh-ma-hor* (CAPART, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. LXII). *Ptahhetep* I, pl. XXI = WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 18. *Beni Hasan* IV, pl. xxii, 1 (two birds; compare *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xvii, Middle Kingdom).

⁴ Caylus gave his collection to Louis xv, King of France. The *Cabinet du Roi* in the French revolution became the *Cabinet des Médailles* which now is a part of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. M. BABELON, director of the *Cabinet des Médailles*, informed me by a courteous letter, that a certain number of the Egyptian monuments of the *Cabinet* were transferred to the *Musée du Louvre* in 1917/1918, including the relief in question of Caylus. — M. J. VANDIER, assistant-keeper of the Egyptian Department of the *Louvre*, kindly informed me, that the relief is not in the *Musée du Louvre*. — I suppose that the relief is still somewhere in France and I hope that circumstances will allow me to find it.

to decide whether this relief is a Saitic copy (which is rather probable)¹ from scenes of the Leiden Tomb Chapel.

Fig. 10. Two men with an antelope. Inscription: (←) ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ 'Bringing along a Nubian ibex, an offering'.

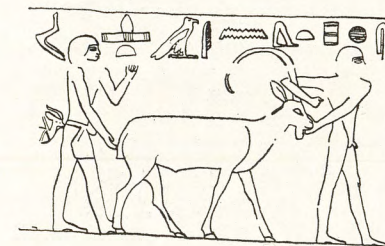


Fig. 10

The word *nj3*, Nubian ibex, is known from some tombs; the female is called ⤴².

Fig. 11³. *Second corridor. North Wall.* (BOESER, *o. c.* pl. X). First register. First figure to the right: a woman(?) poking the fire, on which small baking-

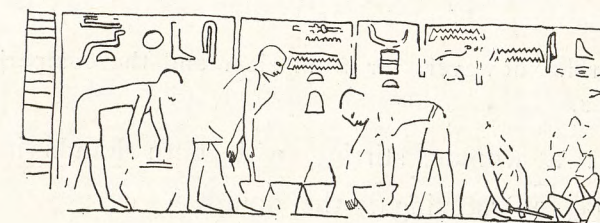


Fig. 11

moulds are piled up; inscription: (←) ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ ⤴ 'Heating by the miller' (female). The second *r* is doubtful. — Second figure to the right: a stooping woman with a jar; inscription (↙) ⤴ 'To judge'.

These two scenes are connected; they are usually found together. I quote the inscriptions compiled by MONTET (*Scènes*, p. 237):

¹ Some of its features as well as the description of CAYLUS (very soft grey marble), which, however, need not be trusted, suggest this late date. The provenience (Cairo?) does not help to settle this question.

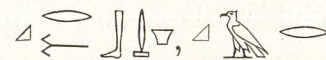
² MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 136.

³ See the parallel scene in the tomb of Ti, WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 70; Text p. 140. *Le Tombeau de Ti*, MIFAO, vol. 65 (1939), pl. LXVII.

TI (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas III*,
pl. 70 = MONTET, *Scènes*,
pl. XIX; twice)



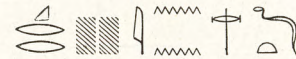
SHEPSES-RA (photographs
QUIBELL)



Karlsruhe Maṣṭaba



Leiden, I, 10



LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*,
Erg., 21



Beni Hasan II, 6



Montet wrongly indicates a lacuna in the text of our maṣṭaba, which omits *bd3* both here and after *wpt*. The apparent separation of the two scenes in Leiden is caused by the symmetrical composition of the register; nearly all the registers of this wall are symmetrically composed.

Third figure: a woman(?) stirring in a vessel; inscription: (↙) Montet translates: 'To make the cake firm'¹, comparing an inscription from the tomb of Ti².

This inscription is, however, far from clear and the comparison is doubtful in view of the different *s*.

Fourth figure: a woman stirring with both hands in a large vessel, inscription: (↙) 'stirring (?) the dough'³.

The scenes of this register do not follow each other from right to left or left to right as on a film, but are to be read from both sides towards the middle: at the same time the baking-moulds are heated (*first figure*) and the dough is prepared (*fourth figure*); then a person takes the moulds from the fire after having decided that they are warm enough (*second figure*); when the dough has been poured into the heated vessels in order to get slightly baked, an ingredient is added in order to make the cake firm (*third figure*).

Fig. 12. Second register. (See also fig. 12bis, pl. I, left). Different kinds of grinding. Right: two men stamping grain.

¹ See MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 240.

² STEINDORFF, *Ti* 86; MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. XIX and p. 240.

³ L. KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, Heidelberg, 1915, pp. 93-94 suggests that here is represented the baking of cakes, not of bread.

A similar scene in the tomb of Ti¹ has the inscription — (and a dialogue) which must be read *sh(m)*².

Middle: a sitting woman working with an object of rather doubtful signification.

L. KLEBS³ suggests a sort of shredding, comparing it with a scene in the Maṣṭaba of RA-EM-KA in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. M. MOGENSEN⁴ thinks that it is a representation of swollen grain prepared in this way in order to

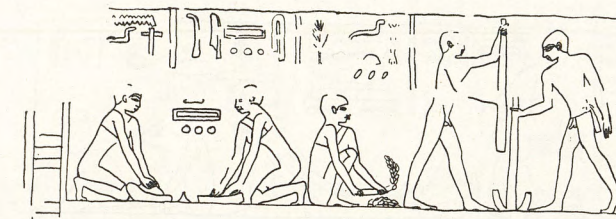


Fig. 12

be stamped easier, and compares it to a representation (fig. ff) from the Maṣṭaba in Copenhagen. Our scene has the inscription: (↙) which MONTET translates 'Nettoyer l'amidonner et l'orge'⁵. Perhaps it is connected with the scene of ANKH-MA-HOR⁶ with the inscription Prof. CAPART kindly informs me, that the scene in Leiden means 'to detach the grains of wheat or corn from the stem', which is the best way to understand this scene.

Left: two women grinding. To the right: (→) 'Grinding the grains of the *bd3*'. This means a coarser grinding than to the left: (↙) . Probably there has never been a sign in the damaged part.

Fig. 13. Third register. (See also fig. 12bis, pl. I, right). Right: a man poking the fire, upon which stones (? see perhaps fig. 12bis, pl. I)



Fig. ff

¹ The baking and brewing scenes in Leiden are evidently drawn in connection with the very similar and more elaborate scenes of the same sort in the tomb of Ti, see STEINDORFF, *Ti* 83-86 (= MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. XIX and XX). The best photograph is to be found in WRESZINSKI, *Atlas III*, pl. 70.

² MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 232, quotes (Beni Hasan II, 6) „pilonner”. See W. WRESZINSKI, *Bäckerei*, ZÄS 61 (1926), 2.

³ *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, p. 93, nr 2. The tomb of RA-EM-KA in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is not yet published.

⁴ *Le Mastaba*, pp. 33-34.

⁵ *Scènes*, p. 232. See also (Karlsruhe, 6; quoted from MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 250).

⁶ CAPART, *Rue de tombeaux*, xxv; description p. 28.

another antelope (which is drawn on a higher base-line because of lack of space), probably a Libyan antelope, called *għs* by the Egyptians¹.

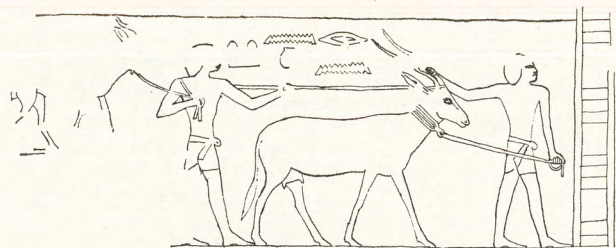


Fig. 19

Fig. 20. *Offering Chamber, east wall* (BOESER, *o. c.*, pl. XII). Above the door, left half: Catching birds by means of a large net thrown over a tree. (See also fig. 20bis, pl. I). Two men catch the birds with their hands and a

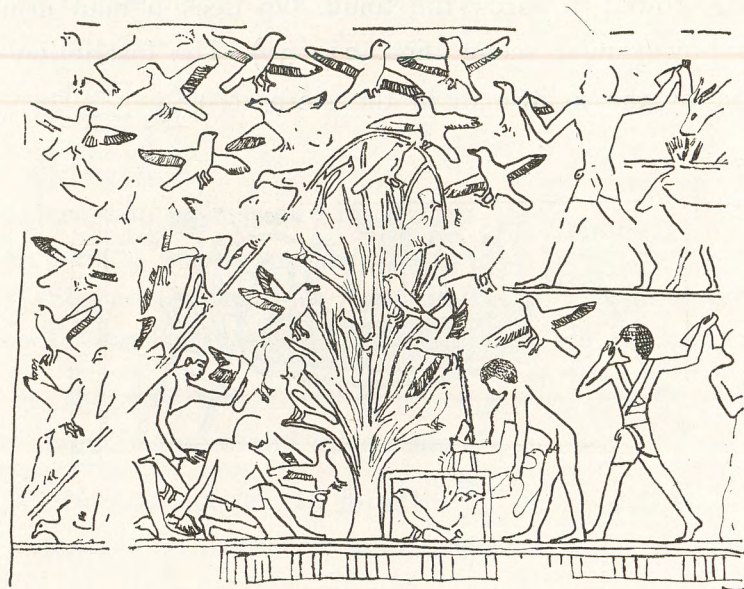


Fig. 20

third man puts them into a cage. The tree is represented without leaves; the free space under the net and around it is filled with flying birds. A fifth man comes running, waving a small cloth and calling to the other men. Above, on another base-line, another man running, waving a similar cloth and seizing a bird with his other hand. For similar scenes see KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*²; but no scene of exactly the same appearance

¹ STEINDORFF, *Ti* 128 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. XII; antelope *dorcas*.

² p. 73; KLEBS quotes: LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 77; *Ti* (STEINDORFF) 131; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Erg. xxxix; Louvre Museum, Akhout-Hotep.

seems to have come down to us. — The men probably laid the net over the tree in such a way, that the birds could get on the tree when coming from below; then they called the birds and when there were enough birds under the net, one of the men gave a sign and they all drew it down quickly; but this explanation remains hypothetical. The two running men are still more difficult to explain; L. KLEBS suggests that they originally belonged to a scene in the vineyard where they frighten the birds away¹. For the representation of the upper figure the artist uses the well-known form of the gentleman catching birds with a throw-stick². One of the arms of the lower figure has a peculiar shape: the contour of the upper part of it covers the outline of the fore-arm, just as in the case of the man drinking in fig. 21.



Fig. 21

Fig. 21. Right half: above a register with goats. Below a tree, the leaves of which are gnawed by two goats on another base-line. To the right of the tree a herdsman; to the left some more goats and a boy who helps an old man to drink. The form of composition (four registers of goats one above another) has been explained sufficiently by SCHÄFER³: the tree is rather high; the space to its right and left is filled with registers containing goats; their purely formal relationship to the tree causes the artist to let them gnaw the leaves.

¹ L. KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, p. 73. See also LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 53b (Gize, tomb 16).

² See our excursus II, topographical list, pp. 72-74.

³ *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., pp. 184-186.

boatmen's fight, see fig. 26. In these two scenes the lord himself was concerned; we know that e.g. Ti used to act as the foreman at the capture of birds. The other activities of his men in the marshes represented on this wall are occupations in which he took no personal interest.

Fig. 25. First register. Catching birds by means of a clap-net. Reconstruction of the event: over a small pool on a clearing in the papyrus thicket a net is arranged and the men wait in silence until the birds have settled down on it. The net consists of two parts to which a long cable is attached; if that rope is pulled violently the net shuts rapidly



Fig. 25

over the birds—before they are able to fly away¹. One of the men gives the sign for the start to his companions by unrolling quickly a white linen strip. This is the situation represented by our relief: the birds are crowding upon the pool, the man gives the sign and his companions begin to pull the rope. In some other representations we see a later moment of the same action; the men had to pull so violently, and their movements had to be so quick that the best method to perform them was to let themselves fall on their backs². The inscription near the man with the white strip: (𓂏) 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 'To cause the capture'³.

EXCURSUS I

THE FORM OF THE 'POOL'

As to the form of representation, the most remarkable item in this scene is the form of the plants growing on the borders of the little pool. These plants are symmetrically arranged, so that those drawn on the lower

¹ For the explanation of the construction see MONTET, *Scènes*, pp. 42-52; K. APPELT, *Der Vogelfang mit dem Klappnetz*, Mélanges Maspero, vol. I (MIFAO, LXVI) pp. 217-226.

² BLACKMAN, *Meir* IV, pl. VIII (upper); CAPART, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. xxxvi.

³ MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 53: "Faire prendre au piège"; for the term 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 see, *o.c.*, pp. 52-56. A scene as in Leiden we find in Zawijet-el Meitin in the tomb of KHUNES (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 105), a tomb that shows a considerable likeness in its choice of scenes to our Maštāba.

border are reproduced 'upside down'. The same form we find in the Old Kingdom with the representation of exactly the same motive¹; another series shows it with the representation of the pool in the poultry-yard².—Another form of the same motive in the Middle Kingdom shows the lower part of the plants using the ground-line as a base; the plants above it and to the right and left side cling—if they are represented at all—to the upper, right, and left borders of the pool³. In the New Kingdom only one of the Theban Tombs arranges the plants in an absolutely concentric manner⁴; the combined method, where the plants on the upper, right and left borders cling to the pool and the plants of the lower border to the ground-line, seems to be the more usual form⁵. Two of the Theban Tombs show a type of the garden where the trees are arranged in rows, each row on a separate base-line which is a form that fits in very well into the usual relief-style of Egyptian representation⁶.

In this connection we reproduce here a drawing of a relief of the Museum in Cairo with the same motive as the Leiden relief; it has, as far as I can see, not drawn the attention which it deserves because of its extraordinary artistic value (fig. II, pl. I)⁷. It represents the moment when the men are beginning to pull the rope. Its inscription: 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 says: 'Work hard, you boatman...'. I am yet unable to say to which tomb it belongs; I believe it comes from a Maštāba still unpublished of the second half of the Fifth Dynasty in Saqqara. The arrangement of the plants is purely concentric.

The fact, that the Egyptian artist uses *different forms for the same arrangement* of plants standing on the borders of a pool makes us understand, that these artists saw a 'problem' here. In the New Kingdom, when no certain, well-established style dominates any more, we see the 'problem' of a pool surrounded by trees solved in many different manners. Palm-trees grow from the base-line; they have long stems and their tops are drawn above the pool. The stems 'cover' the pool and its borders⁸ or they are covered by them⁹; both types combined occur in the same example¹⁰. Another drawing shows the stems covering the pool but they are covered by its borders¹¹ and

¹ e.g. BLACKMAN, *Meir* IV, pl. VIII (twice; Sixth Dynasty).

² e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti* 24 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. x and fig. 26.

³ NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. XII.

⁴ REKHMIRÊ; see e.g. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, pl. 3a; MIFAO V, pl. xxxviii; xxvii; xxiv; see also N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *Paintings from the tomb of Rekh-mi-rê at Thebes*, New York, 1935, pl. xvi.

⁵ WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, pl. 300b (Qurna no. 93); *ibid.*, (Brit. Mus. Inv. no. 37983).

⁶ Qurna no. 85 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 66) and Qurna no. 81 (*ibid.*, 60a). — I here make use of some of the results of a written (unpublished) exercise on the representations of gardens in Old Egyptian Art, which I composed during my study at the Vienna University in 1936 under HERR DOZENT Dr H. BALCZ.

⁷ Published by PERROT-CHIEPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, I, *Égypte*, Paris, 1882, Fig. 25, p. 35; and Ann. Musée Guimet 29, pl. XLVIII.

⁸ Qurna no. 39 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 3b).

⁹ Qurna no. 49 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 170).

¹⁰ Qurna no. 81 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 261b).

¹¹ Qurna no. 53 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 181).

in the drawing of another pool the trees grow partly on the base-line with their tops ending below the pool and another series of trees (on 'the other side of the pool') cling to its upper borders.

What is the reason that the plants surrounding a pool cling to its borders, even in case the artist is compelled to draw a part of these plants upside-down? We come here into touch with some of the most striking peculiarities of the Egyptian relief style: already the style of the NARMER tablet clearly tends to unite the different items on distinct base-lines and leaves the 'free' composition that freely fills the surface with objects, to the representation of flying enemies. The works of art of good quality make less and less use of the 'free' composition, until even most of the lesser quality works do not use it any more, a development, which apparently takes place in the time before the Fifth Dynasty. Any object reproduced in this 'new' style clings to a base-line and so has its proper place in the representation. In our motive of a pool *surrounded* by plants, the plants growing on the 'right', 'left' and 'lower' borders cannot cling to them, unless a part of the plants 'covers' the pool. But there we meet another characteristic point of this art: any object of importance for the motive must be *fully* drawn, and if possible it must not even be partly covered by any other object. Things must be represented completely, otherwise they would 'not be there' completely. So the plants cannot cover the pool in the drawing; if they did so, this would mean that they did grow 'into the water'. The plants that in some representations cling to the ground-line of the register have in reality exactly the same local position as those that are drawn upside down, e. g. in Leiden. This last form gives a 'truer' image of these plants as to their local position with relation to the borders of the pool; the other form—with the lower plants clinging to the ground-line—is a truer image of the plants standing erect. We may suppose that the artist of the Leiden Maṣṭaba chose the concentric form because it fits in better with the symmetry of which he made use in this tomb in every possible way; this form was certainly felt as symmetrical as e. g. the example of the garden of REKHMIRÊ shows (see p. 55, note 4), whereas the other form—which comes back in the New Kingdom e. g. in the garden of INENI (see p. 55, note 6)—shows no definite centre, but *rows* of plants.

Fig. 26. Second register. A very lively example of the well-known so-called fight of the boatmen¹. The boat in the middle is being attacked by the two other boats that are pushed by means of long poles by two men who are punting quietly in the sterns of their respective boats, crowned with lotus-flowers. The fighters use their bi-forked poles as spears; one of them, to the right, raises an oar to strike. His companion sitting near him



Fig. 26

shouts to him. To the left one of the fighters calls out: (←) | | | | | 'Bring me towards him!', probably addressed to the man who pushes the boat with his pole. Another man has caught his enemy by a leg and tries to push him into the water by pulling him out of the boat, but this man raises a stick to strike.—It does not seem to be a 'real' fight, but only a sort of joke or sport, perhaps a feast, or a proof for newly-built papyrus boats, as an amusement for the lord. The men have brought three baskets with victuals with them and we are sure that they will eat in peace together when their 'fight' has ended.—Again the composition of the scene is concentric: the two outer boats attack one single boat between them and the fighters are framed by the quiet lotus-crowned boatmen on both sides².





Fig. 27

Fig. 27. (See also fig. 27bis, pl. 1). To the right of fig. 26 a man tears out papyrus-plants, that are used e. g. for boats (to the left). The artist uses the purely formal relationship of the papyrus, that belongs to the

¹ BOREUX, *Études de nautique*, p. 201 and p. 208, note 1, explains this scene as a feast, giving a copy of the inscription, but no translation.

² WRESZINSKI, *Atlas III*, 51 (Museum Boston) shows a considerable likeness: catching birds in a net; birds are put into a cage; and a fight of three boats.

fish-spearing-scene (see fig. 34). The inscription again shows the brevity that is characteristic to this tomb: (←)  →  'To tear out papyrus'.

The verb *šhs* does not occur in the inscriptions of other items of this scene¹.






Three men binding a papyrus-boat. Inscription: (←)     'To bind the *šmh*-boat'; the two rolls of cord above are not likely to belong to this inscription, but are spare rolls².

Fig. 28. Third register. To the left where the wall ends, a man with poultry bringing it towards the false-door, that joins directly to this wall being the west wall of the offering chamber. In front of the man his title is painted:  'The *ka*-priest'.—The next man brings fishes in two baskets. His companion puts the fishes which have just been caught in a great

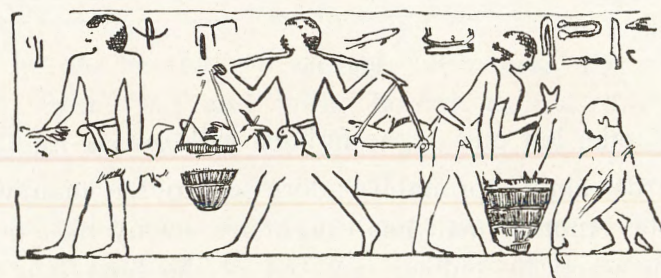


Fig. 28











net (see fig. 29) into another basket; we wonder if the fishes were meant to be an offer to the dead lord, as fish is ritually impure and is never mentioned in the menu-card of the offering-list; so we may conclude that the fishes are caught for the men themselves.—The (painted) hieroglyphs in front of the second man in fig. 28 may be read as (→)   'Overseer of the *ka*-priests', but this must remain uncertain. The  is painted over the remainders of a , which would mean 'the mariner'; it looks as if the artist himself doubted the personality of the man with the two baskets; no definite decision was made, as the signs remained only painted. Behind the third man we see the painted hieroglyphs (←)  , that might be 'the mariner and fisherman'.

Fig. 29. Eight men trawling (See also fig. 29bis, pl. 1). In the middle the inscription: (←)   'To trawl'³. The last man to the left calls out to his companion near him: (→)   'Lift (the rope of the net) towards yourself!'—The symmetry of the composition is striking.—The scenes

¹ For the other items see MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 74.

² See BOREUX, *Études de nautique*, p. 178, note 4: "rouleaux de rechange, mis à la disposition des ouvriers (cf., par exemple *Akhethetep*, pl. XIII; *The Ramesseum*, pl. XXXII; *Deshasheh*, pl. v, etc.)."

³ For a good photograph of this inscription see CAPART-WERBROUCK, *Memphis*, fig. 261, p. 279.

to the left (see fig. 28, right) and to the right are still related to the fishing-scene itself: to the right (fig. 29) a boy shows a peculiar fish to an overseer, who is leaning upon a stick. The boy carefully lifts up a fin of the fish (see also the photograph fig. 29ter, pl. 1).

In the Maṣṭaba of TI the composition of the scene is a little different: the overseer is placed in the middle of the scene of the drag-fishing and we see the man with the peculiar fish on the right in extreme movement¹. In the Maṣṭaba of the Musée du Louvre² the man with the fish stands alone in the middle of the whole

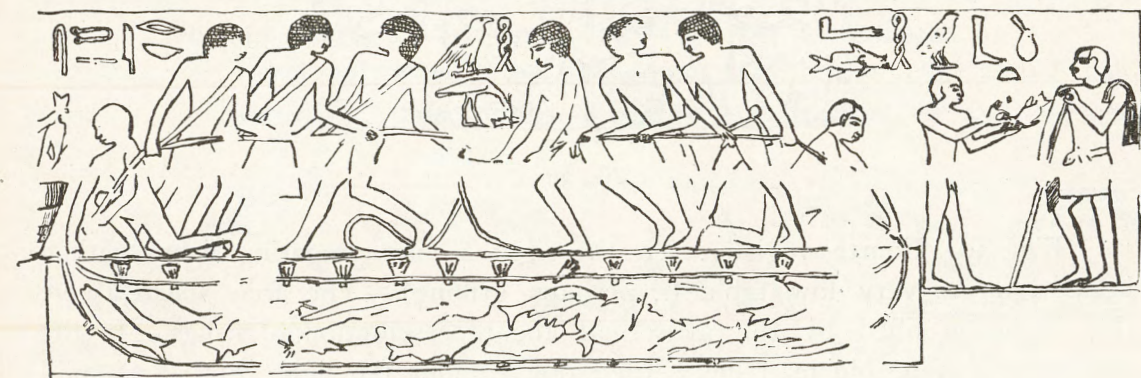















Fig. 29

scene. Here as well as in the tomb of TI he wears clothes, that differ from the ordinary fishermen's garb. The inscriptions run as follows:

TI:             

other cases no inscription is given.—In all these four cases the man certainly *tears off* the fin but in Leiden he only lifts it up. Miss WERBROUCK therefore explains the Leiden scene as the verification of the freshness of the fish¹, as it may still be observed in the fish-market in our days; this must be the right explanation, although the inscription must be understood as an abbreviation of the inscription of Ti.

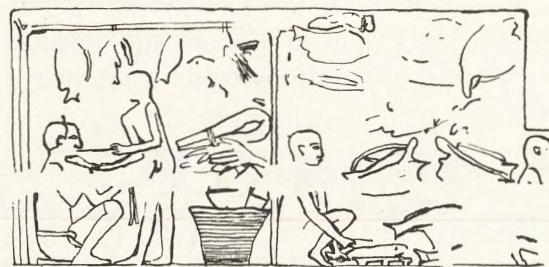


Fig. 30

Fig. 30. Fourth register. To the right a man preparing fishes with a knife upon a very low table (? perhaps grilling).—The free space above this scene is filled by the artist with the representation of fishes.—In the meantime a stout old man has settled down under the light roof of a small kiosk; he holds onions (?) in one hand and a boy helps him to drink². A basket with victuals is standing in front of him; loaves of bread and vegetables are projecting. From the roof prepared fishes are hanging in order to dry. For the left part of fig. 30 see also fig. 30bis, pl. 1).



Fig. 31

Fig. 31. Different scenes of the life of the lord's men. To the left two men are squatting down working on flat objects, one of them with a short stick that he presses down with a stone(?); his companion holds a small object in his hands. The inscription is very mutilated: (←) [mutilated]. The occupation of the man to the left is probably something connected with baking, as certainly is the case with the two following men: the first one

¹ „Le jeune homme nu présente un poisson à l'homme âgé qui lui fait face et, soulevant délicatement les ouïes, fait constater qu'il est frais et bon à manger.” (*Deux bas reliefs d'Ancien Empire*, Bull. des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, no. 6, Nov.-Déc. 1938, p. 139). — Compare also L. CURTIUS, *Die antike Kunst* I, p. 99: „Rechts präsentiert ein Bursche prüfend einen Fisch dem gemächlich auf den Stab gestützten, mit entlastetem Bein dastehenden Aufseher”.

² A similar scene in a boat: see the publications quoted in p. 57, n. 5.

is shaping little loaves of bread and the second is occupied with a large vessel¹. According to SCHÄFER he takes out dough².

The scene LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 96 probably represents a man on the right who bakes small yellow cakes in hot white ashes. So in the similar scene in Leiden the first man to the left is baking cakes by putting hot ashes over them, but with a stick and a stone instead of a shovel; the man in the Brussels Maştaba (see end of note 1 on this page) is taking the cakes out (?) with his hands, just as in Beni Hasan.

Two people preparing papyrus string³; inscription: (←) [mutilated] ‘To brush the strings’.—A man spinning. Opposite to him sits another man of whom only a knee and one hand are preserved. The rest is mutilated.

Fig. 32. Fifth register. To the left a man (*hq³*) brings a jar and a rush basket [mutilated] towards the false door.—Milking-scene. In front of an overseer

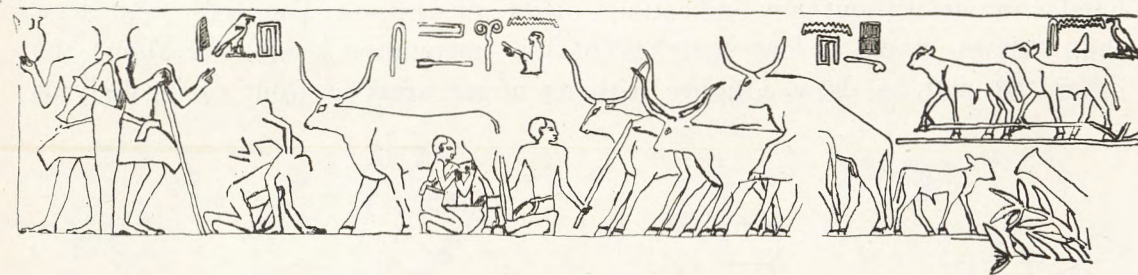


Fig. 32

(*hq³*) a man is milking a cow. Another man helps him holding a large jar with one hand, and, turning round, tries to control a herd where a bull leaps upon a cow. Inscription above the bull: (→) [mutilated] ‘To leap upon (a cow)’. Behind the herd calves, two of them hobbled (A parallel e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti* 118 = WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 89). Inscription above the milking scene: (→) [mutilated] ‘Milking by the (or: for the) herdsman’⁵. — Between the overseer and the milking scene⁶ we see the remains of another group: a man is kneeling upon one knee, supported by one hand resting on the earth, whilst another

¹ Other instances of similar scenes: LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 66 (Saqqara, tomb 17; man with vessel); DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XII (WER IRENI; man shaping loaves above vessel and man baking(?) round cakes, without inscription); LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 105b (Zawijet-el Meitin, KHUNES; three men, one with vessel, one shaping cakes, one baking round cakes); NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. VII (Middle Kingdom); MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, drawing p. 328 (D. 55) = WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 57 (A.) (see VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 60).


² WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, *Text*, p. 113.

³ Compare STEINDORFF, *Ti* 115; MONTET, *Scènes*, pp. 75 f.

⁴ See H. JUNKER, *Giza* II, p. 152 and fig. 18 = pl. VIIb (KANINISUT I). BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, Blatt 46 (nr. 1530).

⁵ “by” is more probable; in this case we must insert an [mutilated] after the [mutilated]. MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 108, translates “par le berger”.

⁶ An instance of an overseer directly behind the milking scene: WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 85 (Museum Boston).

man sits on his neck pressing down the head of the kneeling person with one hand and raising his other hand to strike. Inscription above this group: (←) □  'h3j', which might be called out by the kneeling man or the overseer¹. Both men are naked; at least the kneeling man is not circumcised, so that we can assume that they both are still boys. As the Egyptian artists use the same proportions for the representation of grown-up people and of children, we have no other proof of this assumption.

When examining more thoroughly the fighting group, we see that a part of the contour of the striking boy differs remarkably from the normal contours of men in Egyptian art. This is the case with his 'left' shoulder and his breast. The shoulder and the outer contour of the 'left' arm form a right angle that is open towards the outer side. The breast has a straight-lined contour without any indications of its muscles. — The artist who drew the outlines made a few sketches of this uncommon scene one above the other. At first he drew a figure with its upper arms in front of its body as



Fig. gg



Fig. hh



Fig. ii



Fig. jj

in the figs. gg, hh and ii, and with its fore-arms as in fig. jj (but in front of its body). Then the chiselling began. But, when the upper part of the figure had already been chiselled, the sketch was altered again: the 'left' hand of the striking boy had to press down the neck of the kneeling boy. The artist now added the 'left' arm of the striking boy to his 'left' shoulder as it was; only the arm had now another direction. The artist now used the contour of the 'left' fore-arm of the previous sketch for the outline of the breast (see also figs. gg and ii), without objecting to the fact, that the muscles of the breast had not been rendered in this straight contour².

¹ For a detailed discussion of the philological and formal problems of this scene see the author's article „Een vechtpartij te Leiden” (*Form and Contents of a Relief in the Mastaba of Htp-hr- shtj, Leiden Museum*), in *Jaarb. Ex Oriente Lux*, no. 7, 1940, pp. 535-541 (in Dutch; English summary p. 559), with two photographs pl. 1xa and b.

² That no hunchbacked figure was meant by the artist, as G. ROEDER suggests (*Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, N.R., 20, 1939, p. 18 and the following pages = *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, 38, 1939. In German), I tried to prove in my above quoted article, where the figs. 39-45 are drawings of hunchbacked persons of the Old Kingdom, whose contours differ distinctly from the contour in question. — See also the author's communication to the 20th International Congress of Orientalists, Brussels 1938 (French summary), and: *Actes du XXme Congrès international des Orientalistes, Bruxelles*, 1938, Louvain, Bureau du Muséon, 1940, pp. 95-97 (in German).

It seems as if the overseer of the works in this tomb did not approve the artist's work in this scene; perhaps the group is not altogether accidentally mutilated.

This fighting scene was set in the place of another scene in the tomb of Ti¹, where a man holds a large calf whilst a cow is being milked; on his other side an overseer.—The gesture of the overseer in Leiden is the magic gesture of an overseer overlooking the birth of a calf². For the remains of another instance with a similar inscription see fig. kk; but here the shoulder of the striking boy is quite normally drawn³.



Fig. kk

Fig. 33. Sixth register. To the left two offering-bearers (next to the false-door) with papyrus, lotus-flowers and a duck.—A scene on the water. Cattle crossing the Nile swimming behind a boat that is rowed by two men. On the bow a long-legged bird is standing; in the stern kneels a herdsman

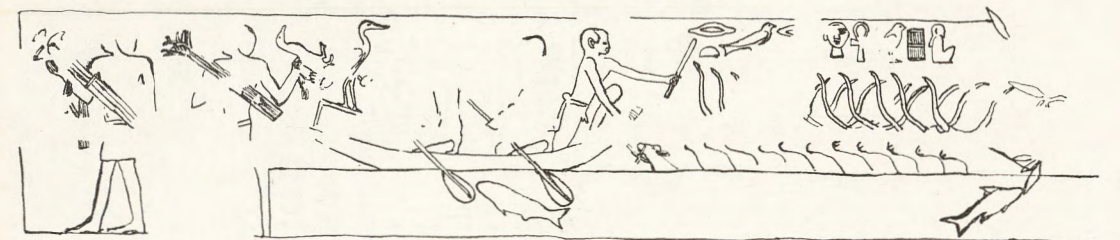





Fig. 33



















holding a stick in one hand and pulling a swimming calf by means of a rope. The herdsman is calling: (←)  'Oh herdsman, that [your] face may live very much!', that is to say: take care to look out well.

MONTET⁵ collected eleven examples of this inscription of which the Leiden inscription is one of the shortest. The text of Ti⁶ runs as follows:  'Oh herdsman, that your face may live (i.e. be watchful) against this water-weed who is in the water that [he] may come

¹ STEINDORFF, *Ti* 118 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. VIII = *Jaarbericht E.O.L.* no. 7, 1940, fig. 35.

² e.g. the next scene in the tomb of Ti (STEINDORFF, *Ti* 118 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. VIII = *Jaarbericht E.O.L.* no. 7, 1940, fig. 36).

³ The inscription (right) "ho, my dear, eat the bread" — (middle) "chief herdsman", and 

                  , probably "climb down, great (boy)!" H. WILSDORF, *Ringkampf im alten Ägypten* (*Körperliche Erziehung und Sport, Schriften des Instituts für Leibesübungen der Universität Leipzig*, Heft 3), 1939, pp. 61 und 66 interprets *h3j wj3-wj3* in wrestling scenes of the New Kingdom as "to fall powerless to the ground" ("einen ohnmächtigen Fall tun"). Inscription to the right of fig. kk: "my arm is against him, he is ill!" See *Jaarbericht E.O.L.* no. 7, 1940, p. 541, note 12.

⁴ Restored according to MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 346.

⁵ *Scènes*, pp. 69-72.

⁶ STEINDORFF, *Ti* 118.

scenes are nearly always given as counterparts facing each other¹; the fish-spearing scene is mostly given on the left. In reality the hunter directs the spear with his right hand; in order to express this fact in those cases where the hunter is turned towards the left, the artist mostly covers the spear by the body of the man². This form must have been felt as unsatisfactory and therefore is avoided in many cases. If the nobleman is represented turned to the right, hunting birds, no such formal difficulty arises; his raised arm (backwards) must be understood in each case to be the right arm.

The form of the fish-spearing and bird-hunting scenes facing each other as counterparts is especially suitable for the decoration of symmetrical walls³ and is thus very often used for the decoration of walls on both sides of a door (mostly the entrance door)⁴. This form of course only becomes possible when the architecture already offers symmetrical walls, see e. g. fig. mm, pl. II. — Already among the earliest examples we find both hunting scenes united in one picture⁵. One of the earliest examples of the fish-spearing scene alone we find in the Leiden Maṣṭaba, a tomb that has but little space for representations, but in which as many scenes as possible are closely pressed together⁶.

The bird-hunting scene is mostly represented on a background of papyrus stems⁷, a form that is probably related to the trip through the papyrus-thicket⁸. This is not the case with the above-mentioned fish-spearing scenes, neither with the bird-hunting scene, if it is combined with the

¹ e.g. our fig. mm, pl. II. A bird-hunting and fish-spearing scene, both turned to the right, one behind the other: PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, pl. xxii and xxiv, with the son hunting a hippopotamus (pl. xxii is a bird-hunting scene, although the description *ibid.*, p. 10 speaks of a fish-spearing scene).

² NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. xxxiv. — New Kingdom: Thebes no. 22 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 40); no. 69 (*ibid.*, 2a); Dira-abu-n Naga, tomb I (WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners and Customs II*, p. 107, no. 365). — PETRIE, *Denderah*, pl. v (?), compare p. 45: „restauration”; p. 63; see also Berlin Museum no. 14103 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 377 = Berliner Museen, *Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 57, 1936, p. 46). — Compare the remarks of WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung*, Mitt. d. d. Inst. Kairo IV, 1933, pp. 74 and 75.

³ e.g. *Mereruka* (ed. Chicago) I, 9-10; 15 = DE MORGAN, *Origines II*, p. 170, fig. 508. BLACKMAN *Meir I*, pl. II.

⁴ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Erg. XII; XI. — *ibid.*, XVII; XVIII. DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. III; V — *ibid.* II, pl. III; V — JUNKER, *Vorbericht* 1929, Abb. 3. — BLACKMAN, *Meir IV*, pl. VII; XVII. — Perhaps Saqqara, Lepsius' tomb 16 (bird-hunting scene right of entrance = LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler II*, 60). — Perhaps Qoçeir-el Amarna, tomb no. 2 (fish-spearing scene = Ann. Serv. III, 1902, p. 258, fig. 3). — Middle Kingdom: NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. xxxiv; xxxii. — NEWBERRY, *Bersheh I*, pl. IX; VIII.

⁵ Maṣṭaba Brussels, VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, pl. VI. — DE MORGAN, *Origines II*, p. 175, fig. 516. DE MORGAN, *Dahchour* 1894/95, pl. XXIII. — DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr. I*, p. 146; p. 159 middle. — A bird hunting scene (?) with the son spearing fish (?) in the same boat; VARILLE, MIFAO LXX (1938) pl. IX, v. — Compare BALCZ, *ZsS* 67 (1931), p. 14, note 2. — Middle Kingdom: BLACKMAN, *Meir I*, pl. II. — *ibid.*, II, pl. IV.

⁶ See here fig. 34 p. 64 and 34bis pl. II. — Similar instances: DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. XXVIII. — DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr. I*, 187. — Perhaps KAI-EM-ANKH, JUNKER, *Giza IV*, fig. 8. — Early Middle Kingdom: NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. XXIX. — Middle Kingdom: *ibid.*, pl. XXXV, pl. XI. — Just before New Kingdom: TYLOR, *The tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. III.

⁷ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 43. — *ibid.*, 12. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Erg. V (probably), on the opposite wall birds are flushed (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler II*, 53b). *ibid.*, II, 106. DAVIES; *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI. Eleventh Dynasty: NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. IV.

⁸ STEINDORFF, *Ti* 113. JUNKER, *Vorbericht* 1927, pl. IV. — The papyrus-thicket does not cover the background completely: LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 60, right.

former. Again we find it in the representation of the nobleman as an onlooker at a hippopotamushunt¹; other instances of this scene only show the background of papyrus behind the hunters, but not behind the nobleman himself². The same background is used for the fish-spearing scene of MERERUKA³ and for its counterpart, the bird-hunting scene on the opposite wall⁴. In the New Kingdom we find only once a picture of both forms of the hunt on a continuous background of papyrus. It differs from other scenes represented against such a background (bird-hunting scenes and drives) by the height of the papyrus plants: the blossoms do not reach the head and the shoulders of the nobleman⁵.

The features common to all these representations are the following ones: the lord stands erect and takes a long stride in a boat, lifting up the heel of his hind foot. When spearing fish he raises both arms nearly symmetrically up to the height of his shoulders; he holds the spear horizontally at the same height. Both speared fishes are surrounded by a 'mountain of water', the top of which on the side next to the hunter is rounded off until the end of the Middle Kingdom⁶; the semi-circular form only becomes general in the New Kingdom. The 'mountain of water' rises from the rectangle of water below, in front of the boat, vertically or in a slightly curved line⁷. The height of the 'mountain' changes: until the end of the Middle Kingdom generally up to the nobleman's shoulders⁸, in the New Kingdom seldom up to his girdle⁹, mostly up to his knees¹⁰, once it is only indicated¹¹ and in two early tombs left out altogether¹².

The relation between the lord and his surroundings is rendered by a difference of scale that does not correspond with the real proportions. We are able to conclude how the real event happened by studying two very similar

¹ STEINDORFF, *Ti* 113.

² LEPSIUS *Denkmäler*, II, 77. — *Mereruka II*, 127 and 128 (?), very mutilated).

³ *Mereruka I*, 9.

⁴ *Mereruka I*, 15 = DE MORGAN, *Origines II*, p. 170, fig. 508.

⁵ Thebes, no. 42 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 52); compare CAPART-WERBROUCK, *Thèbes*, p. 268: „tout le fond du tableau, et ceci est exceptionnel, est occupé par le décor des plantes”.

⁶ Semicircular top, Ann. Serv. III, 1902, p. 258, fig. 3. — DAVIES, *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. III („spot” of water). — *ibid.* II, pl. XXIII. — DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr. I*, p. 146; p. 159 middle.

⁷ JUNKER, *Giza IV*, fig. 8. — DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr. I*, p. 187 (Middle Kingdom, Assuan). — The side next to the hunter curved, the other side vertically e.g. HETEP-HER-AKHTI, here figs. 34 and 34a; Maṣṭaba Brussels (VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, pl. VI). — An exceptional form: P. LUGN, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden*, Leipzig, 1922, pl. XVII (nr. 23).

⁸ An “exception” we find in BLACKMAN, *Meir III*, pl. VI, already in the Middle Kingdom, which is characteristic for the art of this place.

⁹ Thebes, no. 53 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 77a). — No. 78 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 70 = MIFAO V, *Horemheb*, pl. VI). — No. 172 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 354).

¹⁰ Thebes, no. 22 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 40). No. 39 (DAVIES, *Puimre IX*). — No. 52 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 174). No. 56 (*ibid.*, 183). — No. 69 (*ibid.*, 2a). — No. 92 (*ibid.*, 294). — Dira-abu-n Naga, tomb I (WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners and Customs II*, 107, no. 365).

¹¹ Thebes no. 18 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 117).

¹² Thebes, no. 81 (Mém. Miss. XVIII) and no. 127 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 343). — The fishes are drawn horizontally one above the other, as in Thebes no. 56 (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 183).

hunting-scenes, one in Zâwîjet-el Meitîn¹ and the other in Sheikh Said². The lord is represented on a background of papyrus standing in a boat in the usual attitude. These two representations and a very similar one in the Karlsruhe Museum³ differ from others of their sort by a numerous crew rendered on a very small scale. In Sheikh Said there runs above their heads from the bow to the stern of the boat a horizontal line that is used as a base-line for the figures of the lord and the lady. In Zâwîjet-el Meitîn and in the Karlsruhe Museum the nobleman seems to stand upon the heads of his men: in Karlsruhe they cover the feet of the lord; in Zâwîjet-el Meitîn they are covered by his feet.

By these methods of representing, the real proportions are indicated. The size of the boat in other representations could by no means be rendered in the real proportions with relation to the figure of the lord; the boat would be too small to receive the lord, his family and attendants⁴. Thus his company is often drawn on separate base-lines, although in reality they are in the same boat. The crew could, if necessary, be drawn very small; perhaps they are rendered here even in the real proportion to the boat. But the proportion between the boat and the crew is not fixed by reality, but by an artistic intention, as is e.g. the case with the Miraculous Fishing by Raffael where the two boats are also rendered 'too small'. The representation of the event as it occurred in reality is by no means the aim, but a ceremonial picture of the lord at a worthy occupation. The real event is subjected to an artistic transformation, that unites the parts of the representation perhaps not to a 'true', but to an artistic unit. It must be assumed that in reality the nobleman stood hunting on the same deck as his men, in the prow of the boat. In most cases the artist drew a base-line from the prow to the stern in order not to have to cover his feet, and we can only decide by means of very elaborate technical investigations whether this line is meant to represent a deck or not. In Sheikh Said we again find this base-line; in Zâwîjet-el Meitîn it is omitted and so the steadiness of the lord's figure is shaken.—But generally speaking we cannot conclude anything certain about the proportions of the boat in relation to the crew; another instance⁵ shows the lord and the lady accompanied by four men who are represented very much larger than the crew in Zâwîjet-el Meitîn, Sheikh Said and Karlsruhe, in relation to the boat.

A variant of the 'mountain of water'

is to be found in the tomb of ABA at Deir el Gebrawi⁶: 'entirely detached areas of water appear around the fishes of the father as well as around those of the smaller son'⁷. There is no papyrus-thicket. This form, still more loosely composed, even without the 'area' of water, occurs in another tomb in Deir el Gebrawi and again e.g. in the Eleventh Dynasty in Beni Hasan, where no water or papyrus are pictured at all⁸.

¹ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 106 (Grab 2); compare KEES, *Studien zur ägyptischen Provinzialkunst*, Leipzig, 1921, p. 31.

² DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XI (tomb no. 25).

³ WIEDEMANN-PÖRTNER, *Ägyptische Grabreliefs ... zu Karlsruhe*, pl. IV (from the residence of the Old Kingdom; compare PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography* III, p. 66: „Giza. Exact position unknown”).

⁴ Compare WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, description of pl. 2a. — DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, p. 23.

⁵ FECHHEIMER, *Plastik*, 4th ed., pl. 134 and 135.

⁶ DAVIES, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. III.

⁷ SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd edition, p. 180: es „erscheint ein völlig losgelöster Wasserfleck um die Fische des Vaters sowohl wie des kleiner dargestellten Sohnes herum”.

⁸ DAVIES, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. V (ZAU). — NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* II, pl. XI. — Perhaps *ibid.*, II, pl. XXIX. — DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr.* I, p. 161, left below. (Later than the tomb? See H. BRUNNER, *Felsgräber*, p. 59).

In the representation in the tomb of ABA the lord stands in an attitude that does not occur in any other instance of the motive: his full weight is supported by his leg which he stretches behind; his other foot is only resting with the ball and the toes on the base-line. As, consistently, the attitude of the body is reproduced bent backwards a little, we can conclude that here the artist deliberately wished to render the moment when the lord lifts up the fish out of the water, raising himself from the bowed position that was necessary for the action of spearing, and releasing one of his legs. But, as this representation is an isolated case, such a conclusion will remain at least uncertain, for then we must suppose that an Egyptian artist deliberately wished to render a distinct moment¹.

In the tomb no. 72 in Deir el Gebrawi² we find two representations of the lord on a trip, the form of which is certainly influenced by the form of the fish-spearing and bird-hunting scenes: on the rectangle next to the door is a thicket followed by two boats, in each of which the lord is standing, in both instances turned to the right, both soles of his feet fixed to the boat. In the boat to the right the nobleman 'instead of being engaged in striking down birds, seems to be tearing out a stem of papyrus. His wife sits by him in the prow of the boat, and seizes a bird by the leg'³. The nobleman is holding the papyrus stem in the same way as in other pictures the spear. In the second boat he seizes two birds with each of his hands which he has raised up to the height of his shoulders. Here we see formal reminiscences of the bird-hunting and fish-spearing scenes; the artist made use of the familiar form for the representation of different contents.

If we ask for the reason why this peculiar form with the 'mountain of water' was used through all the periods of Egyptian Art, we see that the answers of Egyptologists are as follows (since 1902): DAVIES⁴ says that the idea that the fish was speared in the water predominated and that therefore they were surrounded by it; at the same time the artist wished to render the moment when the lord lifted up the two fishes. SCHÄFER⁵ adds to these two motives a third, the influence of an old form, which represents a pool seen from above ('*Aufsicht*') in which the King spears fishes from the bank. CURTIUS⁶ calls special attention to the first motive of DAVIES, and MONTET⁷ adds to both of them another: the artist wishes to picture *une belle attitude*. This last motive is the only one MONTET speaks of in 1911⁸. According to VAN DE WALLE⁹ the artist unites two moments (the spearing and the lifting-up) in order to concentrate the action and besides in this way he is able to show the lord in an erect attitude. DAVIES¹⁰

¹ See here, chapter I.

² DAVIES, *Gebrâwi* II, pl. XVII.

³ DAVIES, *Gebrâwi* II, p. 22.

⁴ *Deir el Gebrawi* I (1902), p. 12.

⁵ *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed. (1930), pp. 178-181; similarly first ed. (1919) and 2nd ed. See also WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III Text, pp. 237 f., 247.

⁶ *Die Antike Kunst* I, p. 128 (written 1913, edited 1923).

⁷ *Scènes* (1925), p. 20.

⁸ *Rec. Trav.* 35 (1913), p. 123.

⁹ *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire (1930), pp. 29-30.

¹⁰ N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, London, 1920, p. 11.

says that the erect attitude must be the counterpart of the hunt of birds with the throw-stick. According to WRESZINSKI¹ the artist wanted to show the event more impressively. BALCZ² draws attention to the fact that besides the three motives of SCHÄFER a fourth of purely decorative value is to be considered: the effect of the colours of the pink fishes on the dark blue water. According to JUNKER³ the chief motive is to make possible a dignified, erect attitude of the lord.

The peculiarity by which the Egyptian execution differs from any other of the same motive, is the erect attitude of the nobleman, the nearly horizontally held spear, and the 'mountain of water'. The circumstance that a counterpart to the representations of the nobleman hunting birds with a throw-stick had to be found, is not the direct cause of the erect attitude of the nobleman in the fish-spearing scene, because the nobleman hunting birds is not represented in a 'true' attitude either: his body and hands remain motionless again, and his arms and legs indicate the action in a very reserved manner. At the real hunt the nobleman, of course, bends backwards when he hurls the throw-stick at the birds. A similar situation we find in the representations of the lord hunting game in the desert: he does not take an aim although he bends the bow for shooting. Body and head remain in an erect, unmoved attitude⁴. The very few hippopotamus-hunts show the same form as e. g. the fish-spearing scene⁵. All these hunting scenes are the only ones, that show the lord at an occupation⁶. The other portraits show him either standing or sitting erect, inspecting the works of his men, or as a 'pure portrait' at the end of an inscription⁷. In the well-known typical form of the nobleman at the offering-table where, properly speaking, the action of eating is rendered, this action is again only indicated by his arms, whilst his body and head remain motionless. Thus is the style in which the attitude of a nobleman

¹ Twice: *Atlas* I, 2a, and 38.

² *Zu dem „Wasserberg“*, Mitt. d.d. Inst. Kairo VIII (1939), pp. 158-160. This is the only reference to a purely artistic motive.

³ JUNKER, *Giza* IV (1940), pp. 28-32, the most thorough discussion of the problem.

⁴ For an "exception" see the hunt BLACKMAN, *Meir* I, pls. VI and VII (no. B 1). This tomb contains a fish-spearing and a bird-hunting scene of the usual form, but tomb no. B 4 shows a fish-spearing scene with a very low "mountain" of water (*ibid.*, III, pl. VI). The "exceptions" are characteristic of the style of the artists of Meir.

⁵ For a list of the hunts of hippopotamus (New Kingdom, Thebes) see WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung*, Mitt. d.d. Inst. Kairo IV (1933), p. 74.

⁶ A special form of the portrait of the lord, leaning on a stick, is derived from the figure of the overseer of the work.

⁷ See here p. 14 and the author's communication to the 20th International Congress of Orientalists, Brussels 1938, (*Actes du XXme Congrès international des Orientalistes Bruxelles 1938*, Louvain Bureau du Muséon, 1940, pp. 95-97 (in German)), where the problem of the fish-spearing scene with the mountain of water has been discussed together with the problem of the lord's portrait; the same solution was given as here. Of course the article of H. BALCZ (see above note 2) was then still unknown to me, but the ideas of this author on the subject in question I knew from his lectures at Vienna University 1935-1937.

must be rendered in Egyptian Art: body and head in erect attitude; eventual occupations are only indicated by the attitude of arms and legs.

For the fish-spearing scene the erect attitude of the body could have been maintained without the 'mountain of water', as it really occurs in the New Kingdom. This composition, with inclined spear, does not harm the composition of the whole i.e. the fish-spearing scene combined with a hunt with the throw-stick, but the artistic unity of the fish-spearing scene itself does suffer from it¹. The erect attitude of the head would involve a discontinuity as to the speared fish. On the other hand, if the artist would lift the fishes 'out of the water', he would not reproduce the fish-spearing, but the nobleman with two speared fishes. The third possibility which the Egyptian artist had would be to draw the whole scene on a background of water, just as the hunter with the throw-stick is often represented against a background consisting of stems of papyrus. It is known, that the animals, plants and other objects drawn on a background of water may be objects which in reality are swimming upon the water, as well as objects under the surface of the water. Only very exceptionally figures of servants are pictured on the background of water², but this form cannot be allowed for the representation of the dead lord in his tomb, because of the magical consequences which might follow from such a representation³.

Therefore only one solution of the problem remains, i. e. the 'mountain of water'. The Egyptian artist was not bound by laws of perspective; the artist could spread the 'plain' of the water in such a way as he required, if it was necessary for the action, and for the conventional form of the nobleman's portrait. When in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty this classical form of the fish-spearing scene was fixed, it was transmitted to the later generations as a magically effective form and only became subject to those delicate changes of the outlines, which make us feel how very impressionable the Old Egyptians must have been with regard to lines and their variations.

¹ The motive of the counterparts could not possibly play any considerable part in the conception of the types; compare the representation in the tomb of King SAHURÊ (BORCHARDT, *Sahurê* II, pl. 16), the oldest and most classical form, where the figures of the King are not drawn opposite to each other, but in a row, all turned towards the same side. The form in the private tombs must be understood as derived from the motive in the King's tomb.

² WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 379 (NEUSERRÊ, Berlin Museum).

³ As to a possibility of a magical meaning of these scenes: see DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 19-21. — About practical reasons for the use of the scenes in the tombs, see e.g. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, New York, 1917, pp. 67-68.

TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF HUNTING SCENES AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS¹

- King Sahura (f, b, h): BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Ša3hu-re* II, pl. 16; p. 30 and VAN DE WALLE, in: *Chronique d'Égypte* XIII (1938), 236.
- Hetep-her-akhti (MARIETTE, D. 60 = Leiden Maṣṭaba) (f): BOESER, *Beschrijving* I, pl. XIV; here fig. 34 and 34a.
- Neferirtenef (MARIETTE, D. 55 = Brussels Maṣṭaba) (f, b): VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, pl. VI and pp. 29—30.
- Mereruka (f): *Mereruka* I, pl. 9 and 10 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, pl. 105; (h) of the men, belonging to (f): *ibid.*, pl. 10—13 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, pl. 105 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. II; (b) on the opposite wall: *Mereruka* I, pl. 15 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, pl. 106 = DE MORGAN, *Origines* II, p. 170, fig. 508 = (part of it) CAPART-WERBROUCK, *Memphis*, p. 393, fig. 382; (d) with men spearing fish (?): *Mereruka* II, pl. 127 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, 108 B.
- Gemnikai (f, b, h): BISSING, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* I, Berlin, 1905, pl. IV (less complete).
- Lepsius Saqqara Tomb 16 (b and d): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 60.
- Ti (d): STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 58 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, pl. 43; men hunting hippopotami, lord looking on: *ibid.*, pl. 113 = WRESZINSKI *Atlas* III, pl. 104.
- Kai-em-ankh (d): JUNKER, *Giza* IV, fig. 8 and pl. XI.
- Seneb (d): JUNKER, *Giza* V, fig. 15 = CAPART-WERBROUCK, *Memphis* p. 371, fig. 358.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 16 (b?): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, *Erg.* V; above opposite door men scaring birds: LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 53b.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 26 (f): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, *Erg.* XII; (b): *ibid.*, XI.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 27 (men hunting hippopotami, lord looking on): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 77; (f): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, *Erg.* XVII; (b): *ibid.*, XVIII.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 53 (f and b): JUNKER, *Vorbericht* 1929, Abb. 3 (reconstruction) and pp. 115—116.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 86 (b): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 12.
- Lepsius Giza Tomb 95 (b): *ibid.*, II, 43.
- Dahchour, Snofru-ḥn-ḥstef (f and b): DE MORGAN, *Dahchour*, 1894/95, XXIV; see KEES, *Provinzialkunst*, p. 10, note 1 (Sixth Dynasty; see MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 3, note 5 and BALCZ, *ZsS* 67 (1931), pp. 9—15).
- Deshashe, Shedu (f): PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, pl. XXIV and p. 11; (b, with son hunting hippopotami): *ibid.*, pl. XXII and p. 10 and 46 (fish-spearing scene).
- Kom-el Ahmar (east of Shâruṇa), Pepi-ankh (f and b): mentioned by STEINDORFF in BAEDEKER, *Egypt*, 8th ed., p. 219 middle.
- Kom-el Ahmar (Zâwijet-el Meitin), Ni-ankh-Pepi (b?), together with son spearing fish?): A. VARILLE, *La Tombe de NI-ANKH-PEPI*, MIFAO LXX, 1938, pl. IX (drawing) and pl. V below (photograph), see pp. 12—13.
- Zâwijet-el Meitin, Tomb no. 2 (b): LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 106; see DAVIES, *Sheikh Saïd*, p. 15.

¹ Of course no complete list could be given. Most of the instances are from the Old Kingdom, some of them (e.g. in Beni Hasan, Meir and Thebes) from the Middle Kingdom. — I here use the following abbreviations: (f) = fish-spearing scene; (b) = bird-hunting scene with the throw-stick; (h) = hunt of hippopotamus; (g) = hunt of game in the desert; (d) = a trip in the marshes. — The drawing of DE MORGAN, *Origines* II, p. 175, fig. 516: „Mera”, I could not yet place; Miss M. WERBROUCK kindly writes that it was found astray in the tomb of MERERUKA, to which it certainly belongs.

- Beni Hasan, Tomb no. 3 (f): NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* I, p. XXXIV and p. 70; a detail of it: *ibid.*, IV, pl. XIII, 4 and p. 3; (b); *ibid.* I, pl. XXXII and p. 70; (g): *ibid.* I, pl. XXX and p. 69.
- Beni Hasan, Tomb no. 15 (b): *ibid.* II, pl. IV and p. 43.
- Beni Hasan, Tomb no. 17 (f): *ibid.* II, pl. XI and p. 55.
- Beni Hasan, Tomb no. 29 (f): *ibid.* II, pl. XXIX and p. 34—39.
- Beni Hasan, Tomb no. 33 (f): *ibid.* II, pl. XXXV and p. 38—39.
- El Bersheh, Tomb no. 2 (f): NEWBERRY, *Bersheh* I, pl. IX and p. 15; (b): *ibid.*, pl. VIII and pp. 14—15.
- Sheikh Saïd, Tomb no. 25 (b): DAVIES, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. XI and pp. 15 and 23.
- Meir, Tomb no. D 2 (f): BLACKMAN, *Meir* IV, pl. VII and pp. 27—28. (b): *ibid.*, pl. XVII and p. 45.
- Meir, Tomb no. B 1 (f and b): *ibid.* I, pl. II and pp. 27—28; (g): *ibid.*, pl. VI and p. 30; a detail of it, *ibid.*, pl. VII.
- Meir, Tomb no. B 2 (f and b): *ibid.*, II, pl. IV and p. 14. (g): *ibid.*, pl. VIII and p. 13.
- Meir, Tomb no. C 1 (f): JEA. XI (1925), p. 213, fig. 1 (lower part). (f and b) mentioned in BLACKMAN, *Meir* I, p. 12.
- Qoçeir-el Amarna, Tomb no. 2 (f): Ann. Serv. III (1902), p. 258, fig. 3; see BRUNNER, *Die Entwicklung der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, p. 53. (The fish-spearing scene is on the right entrance wall; there may have been a bird-hunting scene on the left, where no representation is mentioned by PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography* IV, p. 241 (II).
- Gebrâwi, Aba (f): DAVIES, *Gebrâwi* I, pl. III and p. 12. (b): *ibid.*, pl. V and pp. 13—14.
- Gebrâwi, Zau (f): *ibid.* II, pl. V and pp. 5—6; (b): *ibid.*, pl. III and IV, and p. 4.
- Gebrâwi, Tomb no. 39 (f): *ibid.* II, pl. XXVIII and p. 32.
- Gebrâwi Tomb no. 67 (f and d?): *ibid.* II, pl. XXIII and p. 29.
- Gebrâwi Tomb no. 72 (two trips): *ibid.* II, pl. XVII and p. 22.
- Qasr-es Sayâd, Idu-Seneni (f) and on other side of door (b): see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography* V, 119—121; inscription of (f): MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 21; (b): only in mss. — STEINDORFF in BAEDEKER, *Egypt*, 8th ed., p. 231 mentions a badly preserved (b).
- Denderah, Idu I (f); PETRIE, *Denderah*, pl. V and pp. 8; 45; 63.
- El Kab, Sebeknekht (f): TYLOR, *Sebeknekht*, pl. III—IV; (g): *ibid.*, pl. X (just before New Kingdom).
- Assuan, Sabni (f and b): DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr.* I, p. 146; for (b) see also KLEBS, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, p. 56.
- Assuan, Khunes (f and b): DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr.* I, p. 159 (middle); a second (f): *ibid.*, p. 161, left below (later than the tomb? See BRUNNER, *Die Entwicklung der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, p. 59).
- Assuan, Sa-renput (f): DE MORGAN, *Cat. Mon. Inscr.* I, p. 187, see also p. 186 and (for the inscription): BOURIANT, in: *Rec. Trav.* X, p. 189; and BUDGE, in: *PSBA* X (1887), p. 31, where the upper part of the (f) is drawn p. X.
- Thebes: for a nearly complete list of the New Kingdom items see: WEGNER, *Stil-entwicklung*, Mitt. d. d. Inst. Kairo IV, (1933); (f and b): pp. 74—75; (h): p. 74; (g): p. 79. — We add:
- Thebes Tomb no. 82, Amenemhet (h): DAVIES-GARDINER, *Amenemhet*, pl. I.
- Thebes Tomb no. 164, Intef (f, b, h): mentioned by DAVIES-GARDINER, *Amenemhet*, pp. 27 n. 4 and 28 n. 1.

Dira-Abu-n Naga, Tomb 'I' (f and b): WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners and Customs* II, p. 107, no. 365 (PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography* I, p. 187).
 Thebes, Antefoker (f and b): DAVIES, *Antefoker*, pl. IV and p. 11; (g): *ibid.*, pl. VII = SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., Abb. 186.
 Berlin Museum no. 14101 (h): WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 104 A (Text pp. 235—236).
 Berlin Museum no. 14103 (f): WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 377 = FECHHEIMER, *Plastik*, 4th ed., p. 134 = (much better, because without plaster) ANTHES, *Neuaufstellung*, in: *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 57 (1936), p. 46.
 Berlin Museum nos. 1119 and 1118 (f, b): KLEBS, *Reliefs des Mittleren Reiches*, Abb. 37 and 36, and pp. 55—57.
 Karlsruhe Museum, Iinofret (b): WIEDEMANN-PÖRTNER, *Ägyptische Grabreliefs zu Karlsruhe*, pl. IV.
 British Museum no. 37977 (b) from Thebes: WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* I, 423 = N. M. DAVIES, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* II, Chicago, 1936, pl. LXV.
 Worcester Art Museum (Worcester, Mass.), (b): *A Guide to the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester (Mass.)* 1933, photograph on p. 14; see p. 17, where the represented hunter is described as a pharaoh. (A good relief from a private tomb in Saqqara, 6th Dynasty, name of owner partly preserved: Teti...).
 Uppsala no. 236, (f): P. LUGN, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden*, Leipzig, 1922, pl. XVII (no. 23).

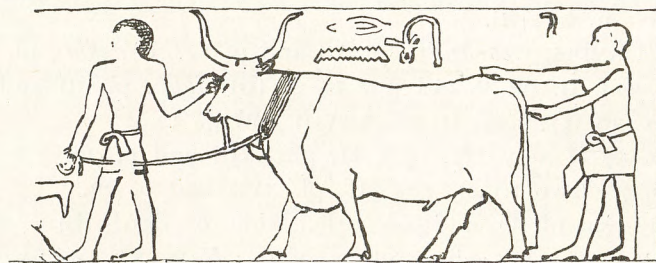


Fig. 35

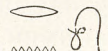

Fig. 35. Seventh register. From the right. (See also fig. 35bis, pl. III). As a continuation of the scenes of the lowest registers of the north walls in the corridors and the east wall of the Offering Chamber, a fattened ox is taken by two men to the slaughtering scenes that follow immediately. Inscription: (→)  'domestic ox'¹. — One of the men is a: (→)  'overseer'².

Fig. 36. Two slaughtered oxen; each of them is cut up by two men. To the right one of the men has put his knife into the ox and takes out the heart for which another man is already waiting with his right hand stretched out in order to bring it to the offering place³.—Another

¹ For *rn* "domestic animal" see MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 138.

² See for this title the study of Professor H. JUNKER, in: *Giza* III, p. 90 and the following pages. — Other instances: DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI (twice); Museum Dresden (BREASTED-RANKE, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, Phaidonausgabe, 195).

³ The scene with the heart is well-known, e.g. (with inscriptions): STEINDORFF, *Ti* 127, twice = WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 94 C; MANOFER (Berlin Museum), LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, 67 = FECHHEIMER, *Plastik*, 4th ed., pl. 138; see also MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 167.

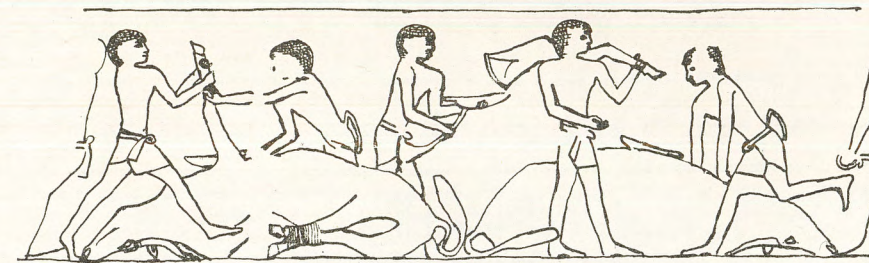


Fig. 36

man sharpens his knife; his two companions are cutting up the ox.

Fig. 37. (See also fig. 37bis, pl. III). Another slaughtered ox with two men cutting off a leg. The man who begins to cut calls out to his companion:

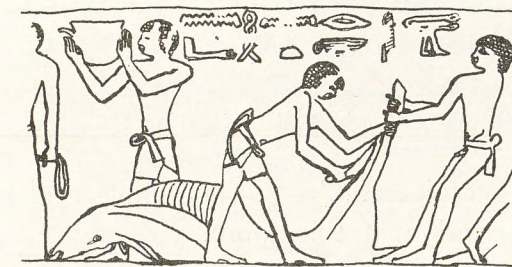







Fig. 37

(←)      'Pull towards yourself, (my) companion!'—To the left a man bears a large vessel with blood of the slaughtered cattle towards the offering place (see the photograph under the dedication, p. v). This man in other

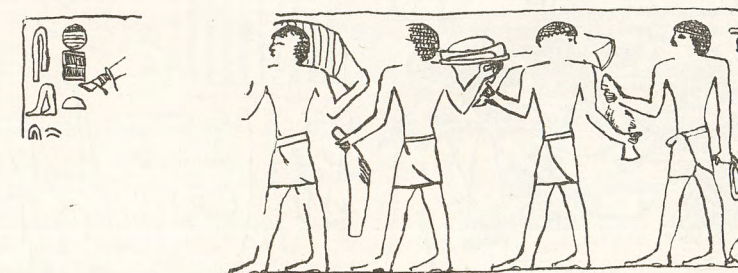




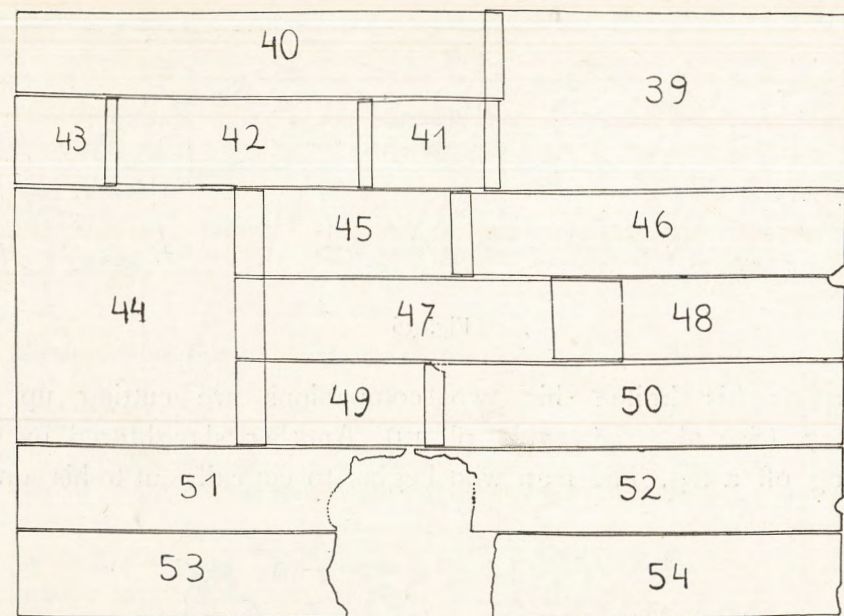


Fig. 38

reliefs is represented when he is still collecting the blood in the large vessel¹.

Fig. 38. Five offering-bearers with different offerings in procession towards the false-door. Inscription in front of the foremost: (↓)     'Bringing

¹ e.g. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 93B (Boston Museum). — MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, XXII (USER-NETER).



Sketch of South Wall of Offering Chamber

(in procession) the cut-off pieces. . . — This whole register is not mentioned by Mariette in his description of this tomb.

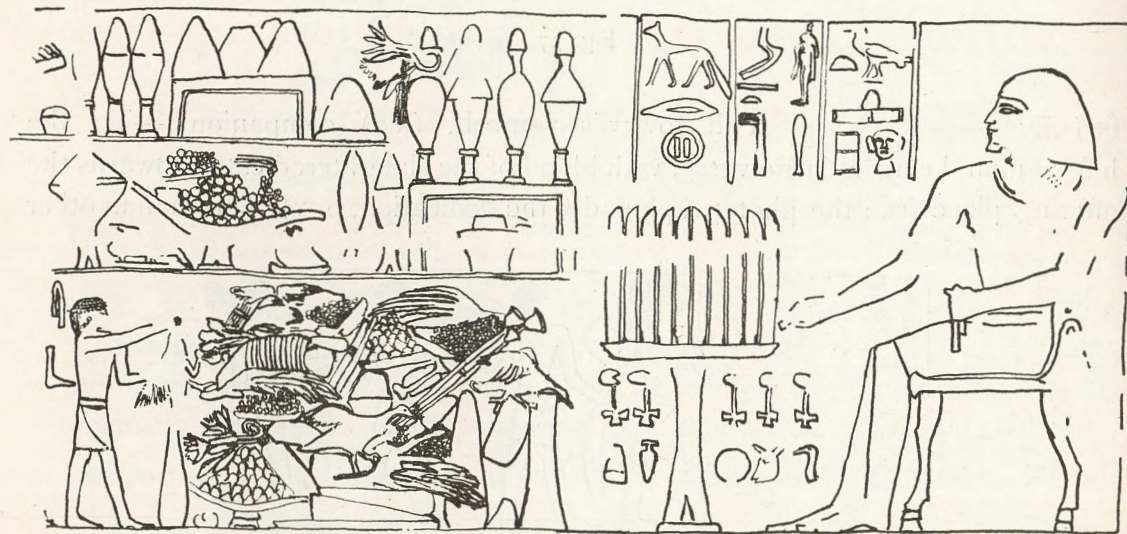


Fig. 39

Figs. 39 and 40. *Offering Chamber, south wall.* (BOESER, *o. c.* pl. XXI). Above, right corner, near the false door: the lord sitting in front of the offering-table (fig. 39). This traditional scene is rendered in the usual manner. The nobleman stretches out his right hand towards the high loaves of bread which are cut lengthwise. Above the scene his names and titles are written:

(↓) ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ 'The Judge, The Speaker of Nekhen, the Priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.—Under the table: (→) ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂ 'Thousand loaves of bread, thousand jugs of beer, thousand round



Fig. 40

loaves of bread, thousand oxen, thousand birds'.—In front of the table two registers of offerings; below, behind an accumulation of offerings, a man offering a duck. Above a whole register of offerings, continued in fig. 40.



Fig. 41

Fig. 41. Second register, behind man offering duck in fig. 39: dinner music. (See also fig. 41bis, pl. III). Three musicians. The first: (←) ♂ ♂ ♂ 'To play the harp'. The second musician: (↓) ♂ ♂ ♂ 'To sing'. He holds one of his hands against his ear in order to be able to control his singing better.—The third musician: (↓) ♂ ♂ ♂ 'To play the flute'. It is the combination of three musicians that occurs in most of the music-scenes of this time.

Fig. 42. Two tables with offerings are brought, each of them being carried by two men. Between them a single man with two jars and lotus-flowers³. Remarkable symmetry of the whole scene as well as of each group

¹ MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 361 interchanges the inscriptions of Leiden (in reality his no. 3) and the Louvre Museum (in reality his no. 2).

² MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 362, besides this inscription (no. 5) still gives another instance — ♂ ♂ (no. 4) as occurring in Leiden, but this certainly does not exist.

³ The four men with the table, the single man between them being erroneously omitted, see fig. 42 bis, pl. IV.

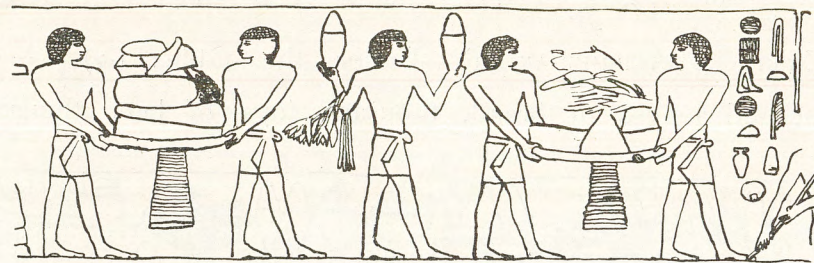


Fig. 42

with a table. Inscription in front of the first group: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 'To bring (in procession) the food'. See also fig. 42bis, pl. iv.

Fig. 43. Two men preparing poultry at a very low table(?). To the right: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 sic 'To grill'¹. To the left: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 'To cut up'. —



Fig. 43

The free space above is filled with the representation of a low table with poultry standing on a special base-line. — Here the artist has united two different scenes and has formed a symmetrical group again.

Fig. 44. (See also fig. 44bis, pl. iv). Over the second, third and fourth registers, to the left: the lord of the tomb superintending the works on his estates, holding a long staff in one hand. He is sandalled. In front of his portrait an inscription: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 'To superintend the ploughing, the reaping of flax and of corn'. The determinative of the word *wh3 mh* is written 𐀓², a bundle of flax. In the Museum

¹ The man to the right certainly is grilling, although the object in front of him does not seem to be a grill; see e.g. another grilling scene, with the inscription 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, 397 (Cairo Museum no. 1562); without inscription: DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. xii. Both instances give scenes of the men's own life. — A drawing of the whole scene of the Leiden Tomb Chapel is reproduced by STEINDORFF, in BÄDEKER, *Egypt*, 8th ed., p. 160, in a description of scenes of the tomb of Ti. The drawing itself is only called „Cooking poultry”, but not discussed in the text.

² For parallels see MONTET, *Scènes*, pp. 181-182; compare the drawing *ibid.*, fig. 32b, p. 194.

its traces were hidden under plaster until in 1939 the whole tomb chapel vanished into the cellar (see also the photograph fig. 44bis [pl. iv], taken in the summer of 1939). Above the portrait of the owner his name and titles: (𐀀)

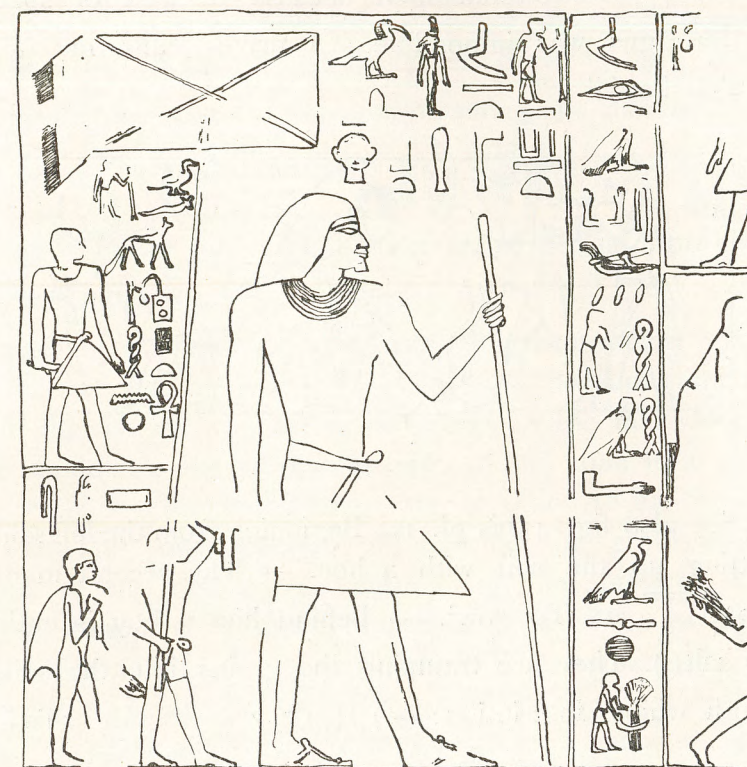


Fig. 44

𐀀 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 'The President of the Hall, the Priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

The *t* in the group AKHTI is missing because of lack of space; *p* and *t* in *hetep* are interchanged.

Behind the nobleman his son on a special base-line, holding a roll of papyrus in his hand; inscription: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓 'His eldest son, the Judge and Scribe, NI-ANKH-PTAH'. — A footman holds a large sunshade¹. Behind him another footman with a sack of clothes and a pair of sandals: inscription: (𐀀) 𐀓 𐀓 'Retainer'.

Fig. 45. Third register. Preparing field work. (See also fig. 45bis, pl. iv). First figure on the left: secretary reporting to the lord; inscription: (𐀀) 𐀓 'Scribe'. — If the unprepared soil is not soft enough to receive the grain by tramping only, and if the field is flat and large enough, it can be

¹ For other examples of the sunshade see e.g. JUNKER, *Giza v*, fig. 20 and p. 83 f.; STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 122; WRESZINSKI, *Atlas I*, pl. 405; III pl. 10; NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. xvi. See also BALCZ, *Zum Vorkommen des Schirmes in Ägypten*, WZKM XLVIII (1941), pp. 1-4.

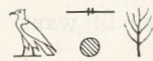
these scenes, twice the reaping of flax. Beginning on the left: one man reaping grain, another man eating leek. As to the form of representation, he might be a new interpretation of the well-known figure of the man scrutinizing a bundle of flax¹.—Two men reaping flax, between them another man drinking. Then a person squatting down binding bundles of flax². The free space above is filled with three bundles.—A second (central) harvest scene follows. Two men gathering grain; inscription: (←)  'To reap grain'.



Fig. 48

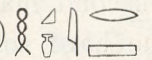


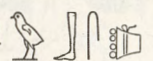
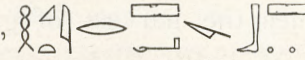
Fig. 48. On the left a man stretching out one of his arms, holds a bundle of flax(?) in his hand; he holds his other hand to his mouth as if shouting to somebody; perhaps he is singing. Another man reaping flax.—A musician, playing the flute, helped by the man in the corner on the right who is clapping his hands. The workers worked more steadily if music kept them from gossip. Between the musicians two men reaping grain. Inscription: (←)  'Beer to the harvester of grain'?³

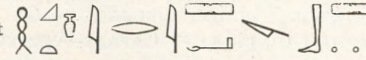
Fig. 49. Fifth register. Two men throwing sheaves on a heap. Next to them a person binding a sheaf, see fig. 49bis, pl. iv. The inscription above this person belongs to the two men, as may be concluded from the other instances of this scene. Inscription: (→) ; at least an  is missing. MARIETTE still read  'to pile up a heap'⁴. For the state of the figure

¹ Different forms, showing a certain likeness: DAVIES, *Gebrawi* II, pl. VI (twice); DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI (twice); Maštāba Brussels (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 45); Museum Cleveland (Ohio) (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 54); BLACKMAN, *Meir* IV, pl. XIV. — Museum Boston (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 51, three times).

² An instance with an inscription: Maštāba Brussels, WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, 45.

³ MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 202, wrongly reads:

Leide I, 21, 

A parallel: Mera A 13, est 

The traces under *šc* do not suit the knife very well.

⁴ e.g. STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 124 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. XVIII; see for other instances *ibid.*, p. 182.

below the inscription until 1939 compare the photograph fig. 49bis.—As to the context the scene of binding sheaves should have been set in between the fourth and fifth registers. As to its form it belongs to the scene of men piling up a heap of sheaves, because of its formal

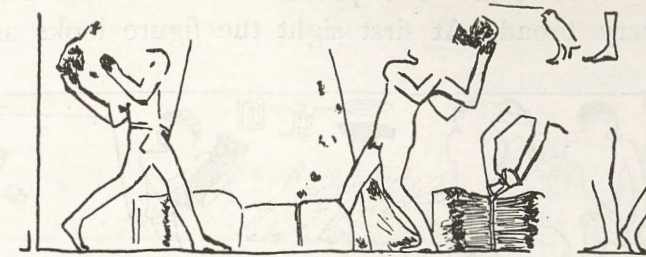
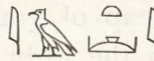



Fig. 49

similarity to the figures of people picking up sheaves from the ground in order to throw them on the heaps¹.

Fig. 50. A herd of asses is driven to the ready bound sheaves (right), some of which are already tied together by means of a net, in order to be piled on the asses and to be carried to the heaps, see fig. 49. They resist with all their might. A driver pulls an ear and a leg of one of the asses and threatens: (←)  'There will be a mountain (of sheaves) for you!'². Another driver comes running and calls out to him: (←) 

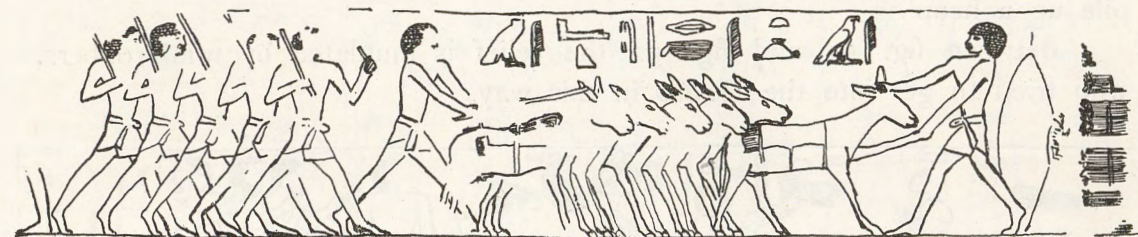


Fig. 50


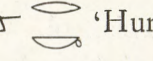
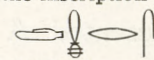
 'Drive him hither!'. — Five other drivers are coming along running^{3,4}.

Fig. 51. Sixth register. A heap of thrashed straw is ready.—A herd of asses thrashing. One of them takes a mouthful of grain. They are driven by a driver who calls out: (←)  'Hurry up!' This driver is represented

¹ MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 347.

² Compare STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 124 = MONTET, *Scènes*, pl. XVII.

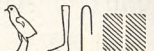
³ A photograph of this scene: CAPART-WERBROUCK, *Memphis*, fig. 363. For the inscription see MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 210. In the tomb of TI (STEINDORFF, *Ti*, pl. 124) a driver calls out: 

⁴ Compare for the whole register Sheikh Said, WER-IRENI (DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI; WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* III, pl. 53).

in a puzzling way, see the photograph fig. 51bis pl. v. For a similar figure see fig. 26, fourth man on the left. He raises both arms to strike, holding a stick with both hands in such a way, that his elbows are raised up to the height of his head, covering a part of it, and holding his fore-arms horizontally backwards. The profile of the breast and shoulders is puzzling; it is very broad. At first sight the figure looks as if it had but



Fig. 51

little to do with the 'normal figure' of Egyptian Art, but when examining it closer we see, that his body is represented in the same way as the 'normal figure', including the full breadth of his shoulders¹; only the arms are added in a different manner in order to represent the very special action; the rest of the figure remains unchanged. — A heap of grain is being piled up: to the left a man throws a sheaf on it, to the right another man holds(?) a bundle of grain in his hand; very mutilated inscription: (→)  'To pile up a heap'.















Between fig. 51 and fig. 52 the relief is mutilated by tomb-robbers, who tried to get into the *Serdâb* in this way.





Fig. 52

Fig. 52. See also fig. 52bis, pl. v. The drivers have succeeded in loading the sheaves that are kept together by large nets (see fig. 50 right), on the resisting asses. To the right more sheaves are lying; three men are clapping their hands in order to rouse the asses. At least three loaded asses were represented. A driver encourages a loaded ass by calling (right inscription):

¹ See chapter I.

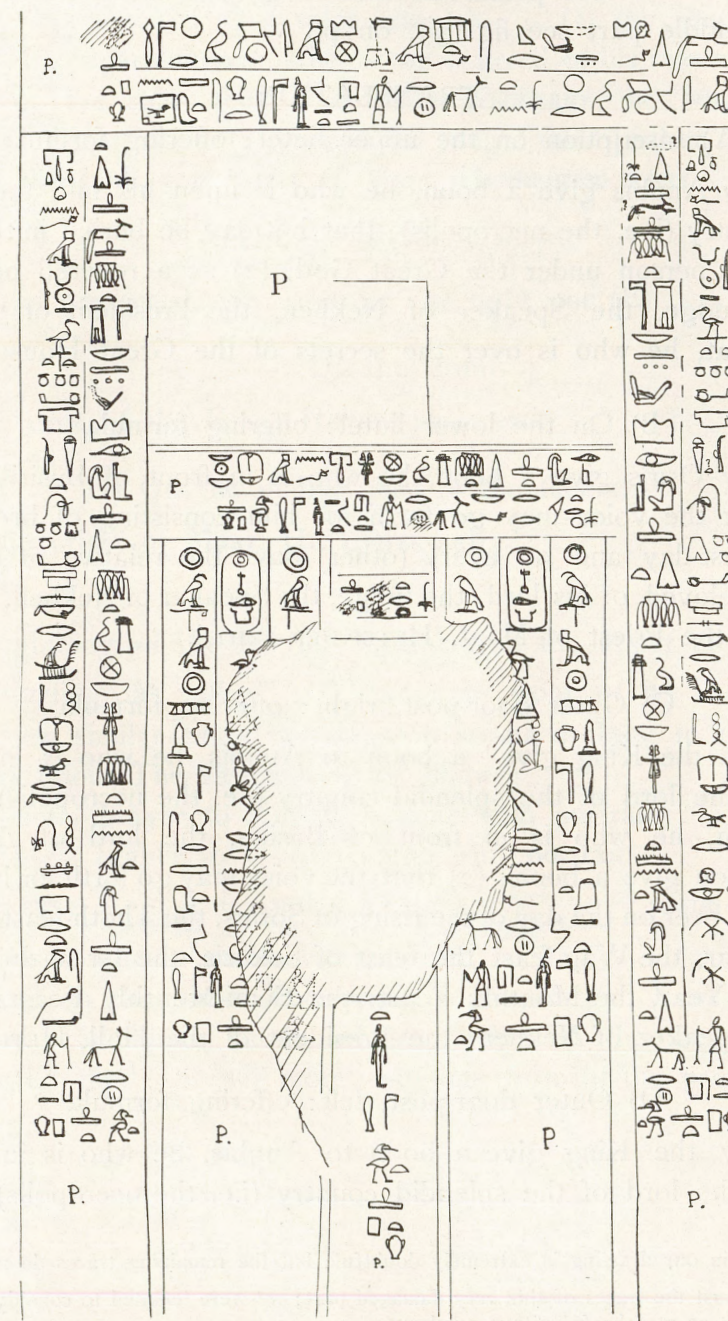
(→)  'Get on'!—On the left a real fight between the drivers and the asses has begun (very mutilated, see the photograph fig. 52bis, pl. v). We see a driver supporting the load of the last ass of this group with both hands and one of his knees; he calls to his companion for help: (→)             

towards his companion who lifts up a leg of the animal: (→)  , probably '... [pull] towards yourself!', in order that he could put his knife in the right spot for cutting.—Seven people, forming a procession, are bringing gifts towards the false door. The first two (to the right) are clad differently and bring utensils for washing together with two jars containing liquids. Then follow two female offering-bearers, and then three men. This group is symmetrical: on each side of the two women are two men; the last man to the left belongs to the following slaughtering scenes, just as the man bearing a leg on fig. 53, his counterpart on the opposite side of these slaughtering scenes.

3) INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FALSE-DOOR

(BOESER, *o. c.*, pl. XVII)

A capital P in this drawing = Portrait of Owner



INTRODUCTION

The inscriptions on the lintels and the door-posts are very thin reliefs moulded in plaster and therefore badly preserved, especially in the upper parts. The photograph of BOESER, taken in 1905, had to be unsatisfactory partly because of the photographic technique of these days; our reading of the upper parts including the offering-list is the result of many rather troublesome investigations in 1938—1939. Most of the still visible hieroglyphs moulded in plaster have preserved their original colours. For a photograph of the left middle part see fig. 55, on pl. v.

TRANSLATION

A) Inscription on the upper lintel: offering formula

(1) 'May Anubis give a boon, he who is upon his hill, the lord of the splendid country (i. e. the necropolis); that he may be buried in the necropolis, as a revered person under the Great God, (2) as a revered one under the King; the Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, the President of the Hall, the Priest of Maat, he who is over the secrets of the Great House, (3) HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

B) On the lower lintel: offering formula



(1) 'May Osiris give a boon, he who is in front of Busiris, the lord of Abydos; that the voice may go forth for him consisting of bread and beer on every feast-day and on every (other) day; the relative of the King, he who is the beloved of his lord, the Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, the President of the Hall, the Priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

C) Outer door-post, right: offering formula

(1) 'May the King give¹ a boon to Anubis, he who is in front of the divine hall, the lord of the splendid country (i.e. the necropolis); may Osiris give a boon, he who is in front of Busiris, the lord of Abydos; may Khenti-imentiou give a boon; (2) that the voice may go forth for him consisting of bread and beer on the day of the rising of Sothis, the Thoth-feast, (the feast of) the New Year, the Wag-feast, the feast of Sokaris, the Great Feast, the First Day of the Year, the Monthly Feast, the Semi-Monthly Feast; (group) the Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, the President of the Hall, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

D) Outer door-post, left: offering formula

(1) 'May the King give a boon to Anubis, he who is in front of the divine hall, the lord of the splendid country (i.e. the necropolis); may Osiris

¹ The  in our drawing is extremely doubtful; but the remaining traces do not point to . Still we cannot trust the traces of this very damaged part; we were tempted to consider them as a sign, but they may just as well be fortuitous notches.

give a boon, he who is in front of Busiris, the Lord of Abydos; may Khenti-imentiou give a boon; (2) that the voice may go forth for him consisting of bread and beer, on the day of the rising of Sothis, the Thoth-feast, (the feast of) the New Year, the Wag-feast, the feast of Sokaris, the Great Feast, the feast of the Burning, the feast of the Procession of Min, the Saz-feast'; (for the following group see C).

E) Inner door-post, right

(1) '..... (a function at a solar temple)..... (2) the Wab-priest of the pyramid of King NEFERIRKARÊ, who is the beloved of his master, (3) the Hem-neter-priest of the solar temple of King NEUSERRÊ, he who is over the secrets (of the Great House?), (group) the Judge, the Speaker of Nekhen, the President of the Hall, the Priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

F) Inner door-post, left


As far as preserved, the same as the right one (E).

G) On the drum

'The relative of the King, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.



H) On the middle part of the false-door

'.... the priest of Maat, HETEP-HER-AKHTI'.

The beginning of the offering formulas on the upper and lower lintels is a little puzzling, as no  stands in front of it. Though this also occurs in a few similar cases the question seems at least in our case to be one of composition. The situation is as follows:

upper lintel: prayer to Anubis + name with portrait

lower lintel: prayer to Osiris + name with portrait

outer door-posts:  + Anubis + Osiris;  + name with portrait

inner door-posts: titles + name with portrait.

So the prayer on the outer door-posts is an enlarged form of the prayers on the upper and lower lintels, whilst outside on the façade, above the entrance of the tomb, a still more complete form of the prayers is given.

1) The Offering-List

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 42 | 41 | 40 | 39 | 38 | 37 | 36 | 35 | 34 | 33 | 32 | 31 | 30 | 29 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 |
| 56 | 55 | 54 | 53 | 52 | 51 | 50 | 49 | 48 | 47 | 46 | 45 | 44 | 43 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 64 | 63 | 62 | 61 | 60 | 59 | 58 | 57 | 56 | 55 | 54 | 53 | 52 | 51 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 72 | 71 | 70 | 69 | 68 | 67 | 66 | 65 | 64 | 63 | 62 | 61 | 60 | 59 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 80 | 79 | 78 | 77 | 76 | 75 | 74 | 73 | 72 | 71 | 70 | 69 | 68 | 67 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 88 | 87 | 86 | 85 | 84 | 83 | 82 | 81 | 80 | 79 | 78 | 77 | 76 | 75 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 96 | 95 | 94 | 93 | 92 | 91 | 90 | 89 | 88 | 87 | 86 | 85 | 84 | 83 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

INTRODUCTION

In the centre of the upper part of the false-door the owner of the tomb is represented sitting at an offering-table; above a long list is written in tabular form.

The rectangle filled with hieroglyphs occupying the entire area above the offering-table comprises what we may term facetiously the dead man's menu card. Each compartment contains the name of an offering and with a few exceptions, like 'incense', the offerings are articles of food; beneath each item the vertical strokes, one, two or four in number, indicate how many portions he is to receive of each thing. But the menu card is a very special one, which does not correspond entirely to the menu of the living, for it excludes some kinds of food as ceremonially impure, such, for instance, as fish, which we know has been eaten by the Egyptians. It does represent, however, a long array of joints of meat, birds, drinks, fruits, and loaves of bread and cake, while the pictured offerings tally with the written list, although, out of consideration for artistic effects, not in any rigid way. The offering-list acquires special interest from the fact that it is also found on the walls of the royal tombs of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties where the various items are enumerated in the same order and quantity as here, but are accompanied by the words of the ritual to be recited over each offering'.¹

In the tombs dating from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty the examples of the offering-list still differ in form, length and contents. From the middle of the Fifth Dynasty onwards a definite version predominates. This 'Normal List' consists of 93 items, forming the following parts:

- different sorts of bread and beer,
- of meat,
- of poultry,
- of wine and other drinks,
- of dessert.

But in our Maṣṭaba, as well as in the other instances of the 'normal' type, the list is not homogenous. We see the preparations of the meal enumerated in the beginning (nos. 1—15)², and the following list of dishes interrupted by other items. These are: no. 18 ('to sit down'); no. 24; no. 25 and perhaps no. 26; the nos. 27 and 29 (water and soda for washing purposes); and the nos. 19 and 29 'to rinse one's mouth', which is translated by French scholars as 'breakfast'. H. JUNKER explains³, that these interruptions probably are the result of the purely formal relationship between these items and the list of dishes in many older tombs, when the tabular form

¹ Quoted from A. M. LYTHGOE and C. L. RANSOM, *The Tomb of Perneb*, New York, 1930, pp. 66-67.

² The numbers of the items are quoted here according to the table in H. JUNKER, *Giza*, II, pp. 85-96.

³ *Giza* II, p. 78 and the following pages.

was not yet established for all the gifts; the specifications of the washing ceremonies are the last items which were admitted in the tabular form. When they entered they moved as little as possible from their old places and so got between the offerings. The second possibility suggested by JUNKER¹ would be a compilation of different versions.

As no sufficient photograph could be taken of the very mutilated original, we only give a hand-copy of the offering-list (see p. 90) and its translation with notes, in three columns. In the left column of our translation we print the items according to their numbers in our copy; the middle column contains the translations and the third column in the first place the reading of BOESER², if it differs from our reading; in the second place the parallels of the Normal List of JUNKER³, for which we use the abbreviation 'N', quoting its different items as follows:

N 7 = Pyramid of King UNAS (SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 50—100)

N 6 = List of DEBEHNI (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 35; time of MYCERINUS, see JUNKER, *Giza* II, p. 82 right)

N 5 = list of KHA-EF-KHUFU; a = list of false-door, b = list of south wall (Ann. Serv. XVI, pp. 265 and the following pages)


N 4 = list of SESHEM-NOFER (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 28)

N 3 = list of KANINISUT (JUNKER, *Giza* II, pp. 170—172)

N 2 = list of NISUT-NOFER (JUNKER, *Vorbericht* 1913, p. 19 and the following pages)

N 1 = list of SESHAT-HOTEP (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler* II, 23—25; *Giza* II, Abb. 33).

In the third column we register the numbers of the items in the offering-list of the tomb of NEFERIRTENEF in the Brussels Museum⁴, under the name of 'Nef'.

This form has been chosen in order to make it easy for the reader to find in our edition parallels of a given item if he wishes to compare this list with another one. The complete quotations of the parallels in the Normal List of JUNKER were given in order to enable the reader to find the parallels of each item in the Normal List itself: if the reader notes down in the table of JUNKER, the numbers of the parallels that we give here of each item, in their proper places, he will no longer have to look through the whole table in *Giza* II in order to find these parallels. For instance; a reader wants to know the parallels of , the *ht*-bread. This is no. 32 of the Normal-List, easily to be found in the first part of the list where the different sorts of bread are enumerated. He will find in our list, no. 32, right column, the parallels of the Normal List which occur in quite different places in the table of JUNKER; he will find an indication that he has to look up the nos. 31; 21; and 13 of the table of JUNKER.

¹ *Giza* II, p. 79: "Es wäre freilich auch denkbar daß ein Zusammenfließen von verschiedenen Fassungen vorliegt, wobei man in mangelnder Folgerichtigkeit die Wiederholungen nicht ausmerzte".
























² *Beschrijving I, Atlas*, pl. XVIII (drawing) and pl. XVII (photograph of the whole false-door).

³ *Giza* II, pp. 85-96.

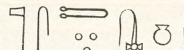
















⁴ VAN DE WALLE, *Le Mastaba de Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, pp. 67-70.

TRANSLATION

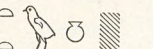

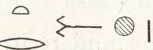


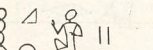


Preparations

1.                       

Further preparations

13.  'A jar of incense' The  possibly is a ; = 13 in N 6; 4. = 13 in Nef.
14.  'Two portions (?) of the royal offering' No parallel in Normal List; e.g. 14 in N 6: ; see 16 quoted below; the nos. 14 and 2 are exchanged.
15.  'A dinner-table' BOESER, *l.c.*: ; = 15 in N 7; 6; 4:  = 15 in Nef. = 16 in N 7b; 6; 5a; 17 in 4; 11 in 3; = 16 in Nef.
16.  'Two portions (?) of the royal offering'¹
17.  'Two portions of the royal offering in the Great Hall' The  is not certain; see e.g. 17 in N 7: ; 5a: ; 18 in N 4; 12 in 3. = 17 in Nef.
18.  'To (?) sit down' = 18 in N 7; 6: ; 5a; = 18 in Nef.
19.  'To rinse one's mouth' (or: 'breakfast', see p. 65) = 19 in N 7: ; 6; 4; = 19 in Nef.

Bread and beer

20.  '... longish loaves of bread'² BOESER, *l.c.*: ; see here no. 30; = 20 in N 7; 6; 5a; 4; = 14 in N 3. = 20 in Nef.
21.  'One round loaf of bread'³ See here no. 31; = 21 in N 7; 6; 5a; 4; 15 in 3. = 21 in Nef.
22.  'Two portions of strong (?) beer' BOESER, *l.c.*: ; = 22 in N 7; 16 in 3; = 22 in Nef.
23.  'Two portions of rich (?) beer'⁴ = 23 in N 7: ; see here no. 67. See 23 in Nef.: 






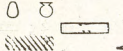






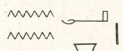

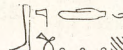




¹ JUNKER, *Giza II*, pp. 77 and 80, suggests another possibility: to understand the nos. 16 and 17 as a summary of the (following) menu card.



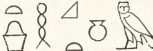


² See MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes II*, p. 3.

³ See MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes I*, p. 328.

⁴ See MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes I*, p. 328.

Further preparations

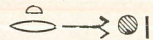
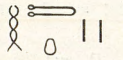
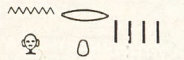
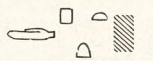



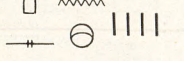



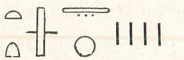










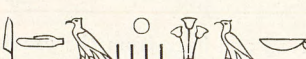







24.  '....'; probably together with no. 25 the ceremony of raising the offers¹ None of items no. 24 in Normal List tally with the rest: = 24 in N 4; ; 6; ; 7; ; = 24 in Nef.: 
25.  'Food' BOESER, *l.c.*: ; = 25 in N 7; = ; 6: ; 4: ; for the nos. 24 and 25 see also 17 in N—18 in N; = 25 in Nef.: 
26.  '....',² see here no. 48 = 26 in N 7; 6; 20 in 3(?); 24 in 2; 1. = 26 in Nef.. Nefer (Mus. Baracco), above table.
27.  'Two portions of water' = 27 in N 7; 6; 20 in 3(?); 24 in 2; 1. = 27 in Nef. Exact form of  doubtful.
28.  'Two portions of natron' = 28 in N 4—7; 50 in 3; 53 in 1. = 28 in Nef. Nefer (Mus. Baracco) above table. — They all have the determinative , which is destroyed in Leiden³.
29.  'To rinse one's mouth, twice' BOESER, *l.c.*: ; probably no sign in damaged part. See here no. 19. = 29 in N 7; 6; 4. = 29 in Nef.
30.  'One longish loaf of bread' (see no. 20) = 30 in N 7; 6; 4; 29 in 5a. 30 in Nef⁴.

¹ The  (N 24, 7, Unas) is the same ceremony asked by PEPI-ANKH-HER-IB; see SETHE, *Urkunden I*, pp. 223—224: *i rmt nb ...*     'O ye men and women, ... give to me bread and beer from the provisions you carry with you and raise them with your two arms!' — See also JUNKER, *Giza II*, p. 78 right.

² The Berlin *Wörterbuch* (IV, 60, 2; 3) translates this item "Körperteil des Rindes (vom Bein?), als Speise". — VAN DE WALLE (*Neferirtenef*, p. 68): "Diner" with reference to Rec. Trav. vol. xxxii 1910, p. 17. Possibly the *Wörterbuch* meant n. 48. of the Normal List; any translation of no. 26 depends on the translator's view of the composition of the Normal List: Maspero and van de Walle take it as the subsequent lists of breakfast and dinner, but Junker suggests other interpretations, see *Giza II*, pp. 74-83. — The same item occurring as no. 48, is translated by VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, p. 68, as "tibia".

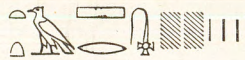
³ For an explanation of the situation of the nos. 27 and 28 between the other items of the list, see JUNKER, *Giza II*, p. 79. An elaborate discussion of the items nos. 27 and 28 see JUNKER, *Giza III*, p. 103 and the following pages.

⁴ VAN DE WALLE (*Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68) begins the menu card of the dinner with no. 30.

31.  'A big round cake' = 31 in N 7; 6; 4; 30 in 5a; e.g. *Hknn*; Giza VIII = G 4860. = 31 in Nef.
32.  'Two loaves of (a kind of) bread' = 32 in N 7; 6; 4; 31, 5; 21 in 3; 13 in 2; 1. = 32 in Nef.
33.  'Four loaves of (a kind of) bread' = 33 in N 7; 6; 5a; 4; 25 in 3; 20 in 2; 1. = 33 in Nef.
34.  '... loaves of (a triangular sort of) bread' = 34 in N 7; 4; 24 in 3; = 34 in Nef. (all of them with ||||; = 17 in N 1:   .
35.  'Four loaves of (around kind of) bread' See here fig. 13, middle; = 35 in N 7; 6; 5a; 60 in 5b; 26 in 3; 14 in 2; 1.
36.  'Four loaves of (a sort of) cake' BOESER, *l.c.*:  |||| = 36 in N 7; 6; 5a; 35 in 4; 27 in 3; 22 in 1 (?). = 36 in Nef.:  ||||.
37.  'Four loaves of ... (a sort of bread)'¹. BOESER, *l.c.*  |||| = 37 in N 7:  ||||; 5a;  ||||; 6:  ||||; 28 in 3:  |||| = 37 in Nef.: .
38.  'Four portions of (sorts of) small cakes' = 38 in N 7; 6; 5a; 37 in 4; 29 in 3; = 38 in Nef. Compare here no. 77; and 78.
39.  'Four portions of (sorts of small round?) cakes'². See no. 78; = 39 in N 7; 6; 5a; 30 in 3; 38 in 4 (?). = 39 in Nef.
40.  'Four loaves of (a sort of) bread' BOESER, *l.c.*:  ||||. See 40 in N 7; 6; 5a; 39 in 4; 33 in 3, = 40 in Nef.
41.  'Four loaves of (a sort of) bread' = 51 in N 3:  ||||. 41 in 7; 6; 5a; 40 in 4 (all with , e.g. 41 in 7:    ). = 41 in Nef.
42.  'Four loaves of (a sort of) bread' = 42 in N 7; 6; 5a; 41 in 4; 31 in 3; 51 in 1. = 42 in Nef.

¹ MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes* II, p. 5, translates "pains en terre".






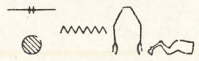



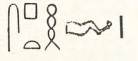




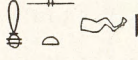
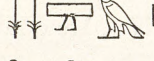
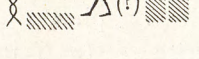

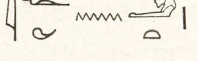
² See the translation of VAN DE WALLE *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "Petits pains ronds".

43.  'Four ... of toast (?)' = 43 in N 7; 6; 5a; 2; 1; 42 in 4; 33 in 3. = 43 in Nef.

Onions

44.  'Onions' The quantity (four portions) is enumerated together with no. 43; — = 44 in N 6; 5a; 43 in 4; 34 in 3. = 44 in Nef.

Meat











45.  'Meat from the fore leg (thigh)' = 45 in N 7; 6; 5a; 44 in 4; 35 in 3; 39 in 2; 1. = 45 in Nef.
46.  'One portion from the leg (thigh)' BOESER, *l.c.*:  ||; = 46 in N 7:  ||; 6;  ||; 47 in 5a; 45 in 4; 36 in 3; 40 in 1; 2; = 46 in Nef.
47.  'One portion of meat from the shoulder(?)'¹ BOESER, *l.c.*:  ||; = 47 in N 7; 6; = 37 in N 3; 46 in 4; 2; 1. = 47 in Nef.
48.  'One portion of ...'; see here no. 26 and p. 69, note 1 = 48 in Nef.:  ||; similarly: = 48 in N 7; 6; 46 in 5a; 47 in 4; 42 in 2; 1.
49.  'One portion of meat from the ribs' = 49 in Nef.:  ||; for *spr* see 49 in N 7; 6; 48 in 5a; 38 in 3; 41 in 2; 1.
50.  'One portion of grilled meat' BOESER, *l.c.*:  ||; 50 in Nef.:  ||; similarly: = 50 in N 7; 6; 40 in 5a; 43 in 2; 1.
51.  'One portion of liver' = 51 in N 7; 6; 48 in 4; 39 in 3; 44 in 2; 1. = 51 in Nef.
52.  'One portion of milt' = 52 in N 7; 6; 49 in 4; 40 in 3; 45 in 2; 1. = 52 in Nef.
53.  'One portion of ...'² = 53 in N 7; 6; 50 in 4; 42 in 3. = 53 in Nef.:  ||.
54.  'One portion of meat from the breast'³ = 54 in N 7; 6; 50 in 4; 41 in 3; 47 in 2; 1. = 54 in Nef.

¹ For our translation see VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "Omoplate" and the context.

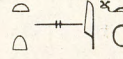

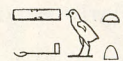
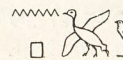









² This item is translated by MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes* II, p. 6; "hâon ... la partie de la poitrine qui tombe entre les pattes de devant, celle qui contient le coeur"; by VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire p. 68: "Vertèbres dorsales antérieures".

³ Translated by MONTET, *Scènes*, p. 419: "la viande de choix, le filet".

Poultry

55.  'A (sort of) goose'¹ Short spelling for  (e.g. = 53 in N 4); = 55 in Nef.; = 55 in N 7; 6; 43 in 3; 57 in 2; 1.
56.  'A (sort of) goose'² Short spelling of  (e.g. = 52 in N 4); = 56 in N 7; 6; 44 in 3; 58 in 2; 1. = 56 in Nef. Nefer (Mus. Barracco).
57.  'A (sort of) duck'³ = 57 in N 7; 6; 52 in 5a; 46 in 3; 59 in 2; 1. = 57 in Nef. 
58.  'A (sort of) duck'⁴ Most probably nothing missing, see e.g. 47 in N 3:  (from a list the poultry of which is identical with Leiden). — = 58 in N 7; 6; 60 in 2; 1; = 58 in Nef., and Nefer (Mus. Barracco) write  and a determinative.
59.  'A pigeon' = 59 in N 7; 6; 54 in 5a; 4; 48 in 3; 62 in 2; 1. = 59 in Nef.

Cake

60.  'Two portions of (a sort of) cake (made from dough bread?)' BOESER, *l.c.*:  ||; = 60 in N 7; 6; 55 in 4; 49 in 3; = 60 in Nef.
61.  'Two portions of (sorts of) cake' = 61 in N 7; 6; 5b; 56 in 4; 52 in 3; 16 in 1; 2. = 61 in Nef.
62.  'Two portions of (sorts of) small cakes' = 62 in N 7; 6; 5b; 53 in 3, Nef. 62: ; the  58 in N 4 and 51 in N 1, are doubtful. The  can be seen on the photograph (*l.c.*, pl. xvii). The parallels write  (= 63 in N 7; 6; 5b; 57 in 4; 54 in 3) = 63 in Nef.: .
63.  'Two portions (of sorts of) small cakes' The  can be seen on the photograph (*l.c.*, pl. xvii). The parallels write  (= 63 in N 7; 6; 5b; 57 in 4; 54 in 3) = 63 in Nef.: .

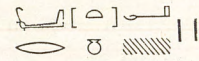


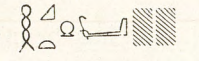
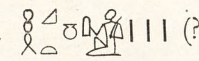
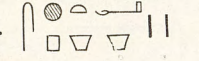

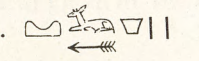



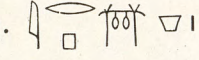

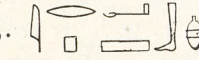
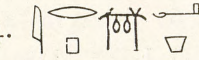


¹ Translated by VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "Oie cendrée"; by MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes* II, p. 6: "Anser Aegyptiacus", see also Berlin *Wörterbuch* II, 393, 1.

² VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "anser albifrons".

³ Berlin *Wörterbuch* III, 404, 16: "Art Gans oder Ente"; VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "Canard..."; MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes*, II, p. 8: "Anser acutus".

⁴ VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, Notice sommaire, p. 68: "canard pilet".

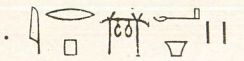

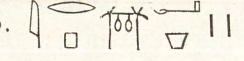
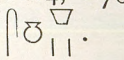
Beverages

64.  'Two (cups) of beer' See here no. 22; = 64 in N 7; 6; 5b; 55 in 5a; 59 in 4; 31 in 2; 1. = 64 in Nef.
65.  'Two jars of . . . beer' Stands in the place of 'Two cups of beer from the district of Thebes', = 65 in N 7; 6; 5b; 23 in 4; 55 in 3; 32 in 2; 1. = 65 in Nef. All with .
66.  'Two jars of beer' The nos. 66 and 67 of the Normal List are here exchanged. — = 67 in N 7; 6; 66 in 5b; 56 in 5a; 61 in 4; 22 in 3; 26 in 2; 1 = 67 in Nef.
67.  'Three(?) jars of rich(?) beer' See here no. 66. — = 66 in N 7; 6; 67 in 5b; 26 in 5a; 62 in 4; = 66 in Nef.
68.  'Two cups of (a sort of) beer'¹ = 68 in N 7; 6; 63 in 4; 56 in 3; 29 in 2; 1. = 68 in Nef.
69.  'Two cups of (a sort of) beer (made from grain)' = 69 in N 7; 6; 64 in 4; 61 in 3.
70.  'Two cups of a drink made of milk'² = 70 in N 7; 6; 5b; 65 in 4; 57 in 3. = 70 in Nef.
71.  'Juice(?) of figs' BOESER, *l.c.*  ||; the Normal List writes *d3b*, see 71 in N 7; 6; 5b; 66 in 4; 58 in 3; 9 in 2; = 71 in Nef.: .
72.  'One cup of wine' = 72 in N 6; 5b; 57 in 5a; 23 in 3; 5 in 2; 1. 72 in Nef. = 72 in N 7:  'wine from the Delta'.
73.  'Two jars (of a special sort) of wine' = 73 in N 7; 6; 5b; 67 in 4; 59 in 3; = 73 in Nef.
74.  'Two cups of wine from Buto' = 74 in N 6; 5b; 69 in 4; 60 in 3: ; 74 in 4; ; = 74 in Nef.



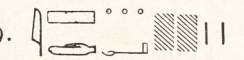
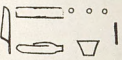

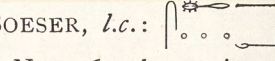
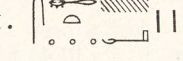
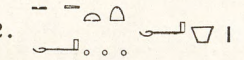
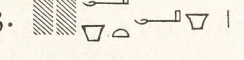
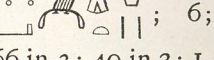


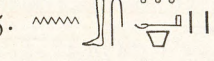
¹ VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 68: "bière jouteuse". — See H. LUTZ, *Viticulture and Brewing*, p. 72.

² For the expression *ššr* (*ššl*) see MONTET, *Scènes*, pp. 107-108. VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 69: "Cruches de laitages: 2".



75.  'Two cups of wine...'¹ = 75 in N 6; 5b; 70 in 4; 75 in 7:
 = 75 in Nef.
76.  'Two cups of wine from Pelusium' = 76 in N 6; 5b; 71 in 4; = 76 in Nef.
 = 76 in N 7: .


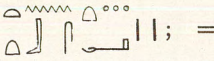

Dessert

77.  'Two portions of (sorts of) small cakes' See here no. 38; has been exchanged with no. 78 of Normal List, = 78 in N 7; 6; 77 in 5b; = 78 in Nef.
78.  'Two portions of (sorts of small round?) cakes' See here no. 39; has been exchanged with no. 77 of the Normal List, see 77 in N 7; 6; 78 in 5b, 73 in 4 = 77 in Nef.
79.  'Two portions of (a sort of sweet?) fruit'² = 79 in N 7; 6:  = 79 in N 7; 6; 5b; 58 in 5a; 74 in 4; 63 in 3; 10 in 2; 1 (?). = 79 in Nef.
80.  'Two portions of (a sort of white) grain' BOESER, *l.c.*:  = 80 in N 7; 6; 5b; 75 in 4; 63 in 3; 34 in 2; 1. = 80 in Nef.
81.  'Two portions of (a sort of green) grain' = 81 in N 7; 6; 5b; 60 in 5a; 76 in 4; probably 81 in 4; 33 in 2; 1. = 81 in Nef.
82.  'Two portions of ... (a sort of grain)'³ = 82 in N 7; 6; 5b; 62 in 5a; 77 in 4; 65 in 3; 48 in 2; 1. = 83 in Nef.
83.  'One portion of barleycorn' = 83 in N 7:  6; 5b; 78 in 4; 66 in 3; 49 in 2; 1. = 84 in Nef.
84.  'Two (portions) of ... (a sort of grain)' BOESER, *l.c.*:  (it is impossible to see which sort of birds are written there! but probably no. 80). = 84 in N 7; 6; 5b; 79 in 4; 50 in 2; 1. = 82 in Nef.
85.  'Two portions of (a sort of) fruit (Zyphus?)' = 85 in N 7; 6; 5b; 63 in 5a; 80 in 4; 6 in 2; 1. = 85 in Nef.

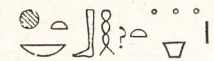
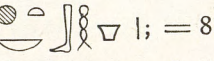

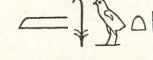
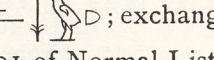

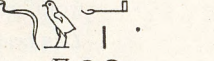
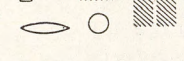
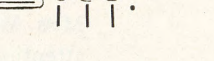

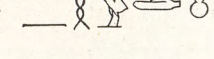
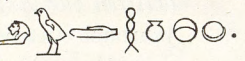
¹ See Berlin *Wörterbuch* III, 32; VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 69: "Vin (de Marédis?)."

² See VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 69, no. 79, and note 8 (also references).

³ VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 70 (no. 83): "Grains de froment", quoting KEIMER, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* (1924), I, p. 138.

86.  'Two portions of cake with (a sort of) fruit (no. 85)' BOESER, *l.c.*:  = 86 in N 7; 6; 5b; 64 in 5a; 81 in 4; 7 in 2; 1. = 86 in Nef.
87.  'Two portions of...'¹ = 87 in N 7; 6; 5b; 82 in 4; 8 in 2; 1. = 87 in Nef.

Summary

88.  'All sweet things' BOESER, *l.c.*:  = 88 in N 7; 6; 5b; 65 in 5a; 83 in 4; = 88 in Nef.
89.  'All fruit and vegetables' = 89 in N 7; 6; 5b; 66 in 5a; 84 in 4; = 89 in Nef.
90.  'Half loaves of bread,' BOESER, *l.c.*: ; exchanged with no. 91 of Normal List; see 91 in N 6; = 91 in Nef.
91.  '.....' BOESER, *l.c.*: .
92.  'The ... (offering) dishes' = 93 in N 6: .
93.  'Cut off...'²
94.  'One gift of offering dishes' Exchanged with no. 93 of Normal List (its last item), see 93 in N 6: .

¹ MASPERO, *Table d'offrandes* II, p. 11: "fruit du caroubier"; VAN DE WALLE, *Neferirtenef*, notice sommaire, p. 70. "grousse de caroubier"; Berlin *Wörterbuch* I, 289: "eine Körnerfrucht".

² See here fig. 38.

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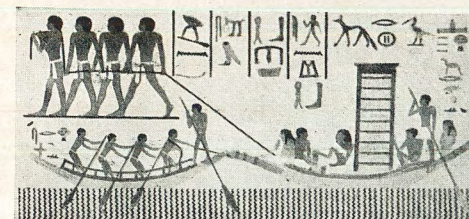


Fig. 2bis. See p. 38



Fig. 18bis. See p. 49



Fig. 11. From unknown tomb, Old Kingdom. Cairo Museum. See excursus I, p. 55



Fig. 12bis. See pp. 44 and 45



Fig. 20bis. See p. 50



Fig. 27bis. See p. 57



Fig. 29bis. See p. 58



Fig. 30bis. See p. 60



Fig. 29 ter. See p. 59





Fig 34bis. See p. 64



Fig. mm. See excurses II, p. 66



Fig. 35bis, See p. 74



Fig. 37bis. See p. 75



Fig. 41bis. See p. 77



Fig. 44bis. See p. 79



Fig. 42bis. See p. 78



Fig. 45bis. See pp. 79 and 80



Fig. 47bis. See p. 81



Fig. 47ter. See p. 81

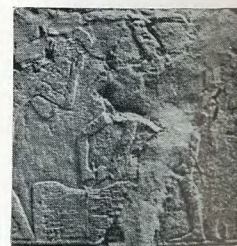


Fig. 49bis. See p. 82



Fig. 51bis

See p. 84



Fig. 52bis

See p. 84



Fig. 55

B. N. U.
STRASBOURG

A part of the
false-door. See p. 88

